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A CANADIAN REVIEW

WINTER 1961

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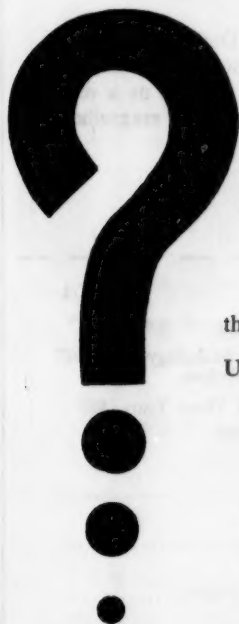
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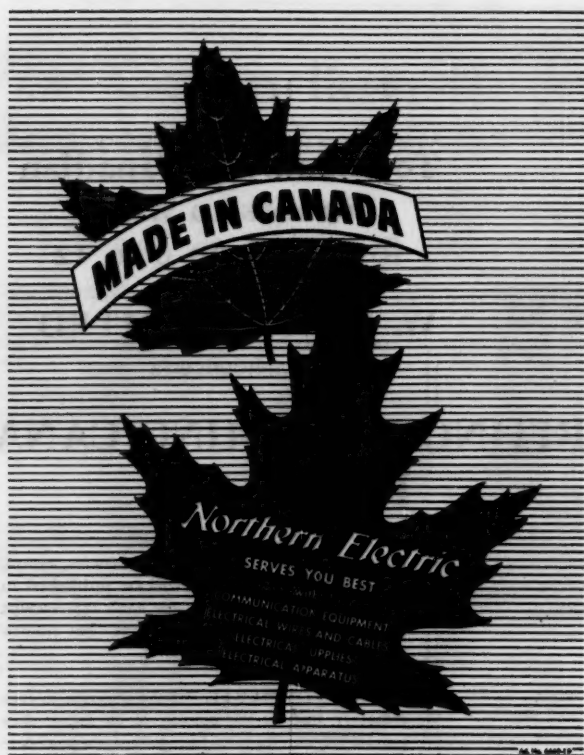
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IN THIS ISSUE . . .

GRAHAM SPRY, who writes on Canadian broadcasting in this number, has long been interested in such matters. Just 30 years ago in the Winter 1931 issue of QUEEN'S QUARTERLY appeared an article of his entitled "A Case for Nationalized Broadcasting" — an eloquent appeal for a "national radio system". Partly as a result of the efforts of the old Canadian Radio League, of which he was a founding member, such a system did of course come into being.

D. J. CONACHER'S paper on Greek tragedy was presented at the annual meeting of the Humanities Association of Canada held in Kingston last June. Professor Conacher is a member of the Classics Department, Trinity College, University of Toronto. Euripidean tragedy is his special field of study. R. D. McMASTER'S article on *Little Dorrit* formed part of one of the sessions of the Association of Canadian University Teachers of English which also met at Queen's University in June, 1960. Professor McMaster is in the English Department at the University of Alberta. Both these papers will be included in a volume tentatively entitled *Thought from The Learned Societies of Canada — 1960* due to be published soon by W. J. Gage Limited.

J. A. STEELE'S article on the British campaign for nuclear disarmament is based on first-hand knowledge. A native of Guelph, Ontario, and a graduate of the University of Toronto, he is at present a research student in English at University College, University of London. He reports that he walked most of the way from Aldermaston to London last Easter.

K. A. MACKIRDY, a graduate of the Universities of British Columbia and Toronto, is with the Department of History, University of Washington. He has taught at the University of Melbourne in Australia, the University of Alaska, and, for three years before going to his present post in 1957, at Queen's University.

Contributors to our special section devoted to discussions of urban development in Canada are all authorities in their fields. NORMAN PEARSON, at present Director of Planning for the Town of Burlington, has had extensive experience in town planning both in this country and the United Kingdom. He is a graduate of the University of Durham. In 1957 he was awarded the President's Prize of the Town Planning Institute of Canada.

DAVID W. SLATER is Associate Professor of Economics at Queen's University. He was awarded a Ford Foundation fellowship for the present academic

year to enable him to devote his full time to research on problems of urban development. STEWART FYFE lectures on local government in the Department of Political and Economic Science at Queen's. He has had practical experience in local government administration and town planning as a deputy city clerk and secretary of a planning board.

PATRICK HORSBRUGH, until recently Director of the Hamilton-Wentworth Planning Area Board, is now Associate Professor of Architecture, University of Nebraska. He has participated in research and design projects not only in this country and the United States, but also in Britain and Pakistan. ROBERT F. LEGGET, who was once in the Civil Engineering Department at Queen's University, was called to Ottawa from his position at the University of Toronto in 1947 to start the new Division of Building Research of the National Research Council, of which he is still the Director.

HANS BLUMENFELD worked extensively in architecture and city planning in Europe and the United States before coming to Canada. Since 1955 he has been Assistant Commissioner, and since January 1960, Consultant, Metropolitan Toronto Planning Board. THOMAS R. WEIR is Head of the Department of Geography, University of Manitoba. He is at present engaged in an investigation of rural depopulation in the prairie provinces. H. PETER OBERLANDER is Head of the Department of Community and Regional Planning, University of British Columbia. Currently he is consultant to the United Nations Bureau of Technical Assistance Operations to assist the government of Ghana to establish an Institute for Community Planning for West Africa.

R. A. D. FORD is Canada's Ambassador to Yugoslavia. His *Window on the North* won the Governor General's medal for poetry in 1956.

Among our poets, ARTHUR S. BOURINOT has 36 books to his credit and was the 1939 winner of the Governor General's award; PETER DALE SCOTT taught at McGill and Alberta Universities before taking up his present post with the Department of External Affairs; MILLEN BRAND, who lives in New York, has published four novels and numerous short stories and poems, and was co-author of the screenplay of *The Snake Pit*.

RHODA PLAYFAIR, in private life Mrs. E. G. Stein, has been writing short stories and articles for Canadian and American publications for the past eleven years. She recently moved to Winnipeg from Saskatoon. F. A. JAMESON is the pen-name of a young American writer who makes his bow in print with his story in this issue. He is at present serving in the United States Army.

QUEEN'S *Quarterly*

Volume LXVII

WINTER

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The Costs Of Canadian Broadcasting

by

GRAHAM SPRY

Directly and indirectly, Canadians have spent and are spending a great deal of money on radio and television broadcasting. Are they getting their money's worth?

PUBLIC attention has been largely concentrated by the newspapers and by backbenchers in the House of Commons on the costs of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation to the taxpayer. As a result, the very much larger costs of creating and operating the whole broadcasting system, that is the combined system of some twelve million receiving sets in individual ownership and of some three hundred broadcasting stations in public or private ownership, have been almost ignored. No less ignored has been the cost of private broadcasting.

The income and expenditure of the CBC, as a public institution, are known in some detail. Almost nothing is known of the income and expenditure of stations in private ownership though it is reasonably certain that they now cost the public as consumers of advertising and broadcasting rather more than the CBC. The investment by individual Canadians in receiving sets is known but for the annual cost of using them only the roughest estimates may be made.

It is the purpose of this discussion to attempt with boldness and apologies to embark upon this field. The result cannot be final or precise and must suffer from what Disraeli might have described as the "fragile theories of a generalizing age". Fragile or general, the conclusions are nevertheless, within their limited range of numerical accuracy, unmistakable.

Leisure is a large and increasing part of life for most Canadians. Listening and viewing, together, dominate leisure and occupy more time than working; and for the young, more time than their classrooms.

It is not then surprising that broadcasting, and the leisure given to it, is in total but not per capita a costly affair.

It may, however, be surprising that it is in total as costly as it appears to be. For the purpose of a brief submitted by the writer to the Board of Broadcast Governors last September, a hasty attempt to assemble or work out that cost was made.

The conclusions reached were that Canadians as individuals had invested in receiving sets between 1932 and 1959 something of the order of two-and-a-half billion dollars compared with public and private investment in broadcasting stations of perhaps one hundred and ten millions. To operate sets, to operate broadcasting stations, and annually to purchase new sets, Canadians also spend in the neighborhood of three-quarters of a billion dollars. These very general figures do not include investment in wire transmission lines or microwave facilities owned by both public and private companies. Impossible to estimate is the precise amount in these considerable totals spent on programmes or on live Canadian talent. However, using the programme survey in the Fowler Report of 1956 and assuming that there has been since then some increase of Canadian programming, it is an inescapable conclusion, which any listener's ears and any viewer's eyes can test, that the vast investment and the large annual expenditures on the common system of receiving sets and broadcasting stations have been predominantly turned over to advertising purposes, mainly for the use of American-owned companies, and that the fare provided, with notable exceptions, most of them on the CBC, consists of syndicated programming imported from the great American entertainment industry of Hollywood, Broadway and Madison Avenue.

Mr. Coyne, the Governor of the Bank of Canada, has been vigorously drawing our attention to the dependence of Canadian industry and Canadian commerce on our American friends. In the sphere to which he refers, the Americans themselves have been paying the shot, have been investing in Canadian resources or industries and buying, to our advantage, Canadian exports. The opposite is the case in broadcasting.

Individual Canadians in their millions have bought and paid for a broadcasting system of remarkable range and extent, with five networks, some three hundred stations, twelve million households with radio or television receiving sets, some five hundred thousand hours of station transmission, and audience attention occupying over a year hundreds and hundreds of millions of hours, the largest time segment except sleeping in the life of the Canadian people. Canadians have bought and paid for this system and its operation. And they have turned it and their leisure over, for the most part, to the products, commercial or entertaining, of the United States. Or such is at least the conclusion which rough but convincing estimates suggest.

A discussion of broadcasting finance is, to repeat, difficult for the reason that detailed information is singularly inadequate. Sound figures for total expenditure, the different sources of revenue and the different purposes to which it is put, are either unknown or very general or out-of-date. The Dominion Bureau of Statistics publishes reports on the sale of receiving sets but there is no official estimate, so far as is known, of the cost of operating them. Total investment in broadcasting facilities has not been carefully estimated since the Fowler Commission in 1956. Total annual operating revenues and expenditures on broadcasting stations have not been estimated by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics since those for 1956, but some further estimates for 1957 and 1958 will have been issued by the time this article is read. The Board of Broadcast Governors has some of this information and may later be in a position to let the Canadian people know what they are paying and where what they pay goes. The annual report of the BBG is, however, completely silent on the subject.

The investment by individual Canadians in receiving sets for their homes, offices or cars, approached, by the end of the fiscal year 1958-59, \$2,450,000,000 or nearly two-and-a-half billion dollars. This total is arrived at by using DBS figures for the purchase of radio sets in the amount of \$850,000,000 between 1932 and 1957, on television sets from 1952-57 of \$1,200,000,000 and then adding, without the later DBS figures to use, an average of \$200,000,000 in each of the next two years for the purchase of further sets.

The investment in broadcasting stations up to 1956 was estimated in the Fowler Report at \$31.9 millions for the CBC, including \$6.1 millions for the international service, and \$44 millions for private stations. An estimate of \$35 millions for investment in both CBC and private stations from 1956 to 1959, added to the \$75.9 millions above, gives a total of investment in stations of, say, \$110 millions. Investment in stations by station owners, CBC and private, to serve the listeners and viewers has thus been less than five per cent of their personal investment of \$2,450 millions.

The second comparison is that between the annual costs of operating the receiving sets and of operating broadcasting stations. Assuming that electricity, repairs and depreciation on eight million radio sets cost \$12.00 to \$15.00 per set annually, the cost to radio set owners at about \$12.00 each is, say, \$100 million a year. There are various possible assumptions and estimates for television sets. Using an average annual electricity cost of \$36.00, repairs at \$17.00 and depreciation at \$40.00 per set and multiplying this total of \$93.00 by four million sets, yields a total of \$372 millions. There were not four million sets on 31 March, 1959, and this total may be high even for the end of the year. On the other hand, the costs of using a television set almost certainly are five times that of a radio set, or \$60.00 per set annually. At \$60.00 instead of \$93.00 per set per year, the annual operating cost comes to \$240 millions. Adding the \$100 millions for radio, the total personal expenditure on operating sets is within the range of \$340 and \$472 millions annually. The purchase of sets was earlier estimated at \$200 millions in one year. Adding this to the above totals gives a personal expenditure by Canadians as private individuals within the range of \$540 and \$672 millions annually.

The annual operating revenues of broadcasting stations is best given by the DBS Memorandum on Broadcasting Statistics for 1956. For 1959 there are no DBS figures and, as yet, no BBG figures. An estimate can only be made, therefore, by interpolating the estimated gross expenditures on advertising made by "Marketing", Toronto (9 Oct. 1959) and the few totals given in CBC annual reports.

In 1956, the total operating revenues for broadcasting shown in the DBS Memorandum were \$110,636,573 millions, as follows:

CBC—Radio	\$15,189,124	
Television ..	43,420,465	
		\$58,609,589
Private—Radio	39,001,495	
Television ..	13,025,489	
		\$52,026,984
		\$110,636,573

The revenue of the private sector shown by DBS operated 160 radio stations and 27 television stations and the average net income before taxation but after dividends and salaries was about 18 per cent on gross income in radio and about 10 per cent in television. Some stations in smaller centres lost money; in larger centres the net income was from 14 to 30 per cent. In Ontario, in the case of radio only, the average net income for all private stations was 23 per cent of gross income. The revenues of the CBC financed the five networks and network programmes and much the larger part of the use of Canadian talent. These national services were not exclusive to CBC stations. They were paid for and supplied free by CBC to private stations affiliated with the CBC.

All of the private station revenue was from commercial sources and some \$21 millions of CBC revenue was also commercial. It is not possible from the DBS figures precisely to allocate other revenues between the excise tax paid by purchasers of sets and general taxation but the \$37 millions appears to have come about equally from both sources. That is the general taxpayer, as distinct from consumers of sets, contributed in 1956 some \$18 millions or less than one-sixth of the \$110 millions. In later years, after the CBC was deprived of the excise revenues, this proportion is higher.

By 1959, the number of stations particularly in private ownership had increased to 250 in radio and 45 in television. No official estimates either of total broadcasting revenues or total expenditure on broadcasting are available for that year. A rough approximation can be made by using the gross estimate of advertising expenditure prepared by "Marketing". This estimate was \$152 millions. Adding the parliamentary grant to the CBC of some \$51 millions, of which \$9.8 millions was from the user of sets through the then excise tax, total gross

expenditure on broadcasting in 1959 was of the order of \$203.6 millions.

In summary, the estimated alternative annual totals arrived at are:

	\$ million	
Operating radio sets	100	100
Operating television sets	240	372
Purchase of sets	200	200
Stations	203	203
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	743	875

These totals only too obviously are very rough and quite properly will bring blushes to the cheeks of shocked accountants and statisticians. It is to be hoped those in the BBG or DBS will seize the patent opportunity to do better. This apologetic note, so modestly intruded, does not negate, however, the conclusion that Canadians spent something of the order of three quarters of a billion dollars on broadcasting in 1959.

Some further 20 or 30 new stations, including nine large television stations, were licensed in 1960 and it is reasonable to predict that Canadians as buyers and owners of receiving sets, consumers of advertising, and operators of CBC and private stations will spend in 1961 as much as and probably more than a billion dollars on filling their leisure time with broadcast programmes.

Lest one billion dollars be an exaggerated estimate, let it be assumed that the total is of the order of three-quarters-of-a-billion dollars. This, whether for 1959 or 1961 is still a formidable figure. It approximates to some two per cent of the gross national product, some three per cent of disposable income or of expenditure on all goods and services. It probably approaches or exceeds the combined total expenditure on education by the provinces and school boards.

The end product of these expenditures is first and foremost the programmes listened to or seen. The second and related product is the development and employment of Canadian talent. The third is the joint product of advertising, information or persuasion for the consumer, and sales or publicity for the producer. There are other

economic results implicit in this such as the support for the electronics industry, Canadian or other.

The precise annual expenditure on programmes by combined CBC and private stations in 1956, 1959 or any other year is unknown. The CBC annual report 1958-59 shows that CBC expenditure on programmes was \$47 millions.

On CBC radio, 95 per cent of the programmes were, according to the annual report, "Canadian produced". On CBC television, the percentage was 55 in English and 70 in French. The number of programmes was 60,000 over five national networks and they occupied the networks for 18,000 hours. The overwhelming proportion of programming initiated in private stations consisted either of records for radio and film or tape for television, both overwhelmingly of American origin. The Fowler Report programme survey found that in radio, some 70 to 80 per cent of the programmes were recorded. Live programmes were almost exclusively news, weather and sports announcements by station staff and the live, local talent used consisted, again overwhelmingly, of the pick-up of church services, local dance orchestras and some school or sports events. Free public service announcements were such a small percentage that they could not be accurately estimated. Averages obviously are unfair to the better stations. Since the Fowler Report and the inception of the BBG, there has been moreover some improvement. However, in July, 1960, monitoring of 44 radio stations by the BBG showed "merely a continuing source of records, news flashes and weather reports". In September, 1960, Dr. Stewart referred to one station offering 24 contests, plus promotion time, in a single day, most of them, it is presumed, for advertising purposes.

There is no recent statement on private television. The Fowler programme survey showed that private television stations relied for some 55 per cent of their programmes on those distributed free to them by the CBC networks. Their own programmes, the remaining 45 per cent, consisted of 15 per cent news, weather and sports announcements, and 30 per cent of film, nine-tenths of it American. Again these are averages and again there has been improvement.

But allowing for this improvement, it is not likely that the expenditure on programmes by private television and radio stations is as much as half that by the CBC. This is the best estimate to be obtained in conversations with private broadcasters. An estimate of \$20 millions in 1959 is then probably not far off the mark and, if anything, is too high.

Thus, the expenditure on programmes by the CBC at \$47 and private stations at \$20 millions was of the order of \$70 millions. This may be compared with total annual expenditures of \$750 millions by Canadians to receive those programmes, over ten times that spent on programmes; and with the total investment in receiving sets and broadcasting stations of thirty-five times that amount.

There is so little information available on the question of the amount spent to employ and develop Canadian talent that no useful attempt to answer can be made. In 1959-60, one estimate of CBC expenditure on talent was \$20 millions. Earlier estimates of private station expenditure on live, paid, Canadian talent made by the Fowler Commission came to only some two million dollars annually. In 1955, the report of 100 private radio stations to the Department of Transport showed expenditure for talent of \$1,797,000 of which \$937,000 was paid, not by the stations but by advertisers. In the same year, the CBC paid out \$7,600,000 divided equally between radio and television. CBC talent and script fees in radio were then some \$3,800,000 compared with fees paid by private radio stations of \$860,000. "The average expenditure by the 100 private stations for talent fees was \$18,000 per station in the year, of which \$8,600 was paid by the station itself." (A further 44 private stations showed no expenditure on talent either because there was none or it was not reported.) This was five years ago and it must be several times that by now. Examples of live Canadian programmes on a number of private stations spring to mind. However, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the paid use of Canadian talent is predominantly a CBC contribution and that too little is done by the private stations, not from lack of resources, or of freedom, but from lack of resourceful, free enterprise.

Clearly far more could be done for Canadian music, acting, writing, designing and directing than has been done out of the many,

many millions which annually Canadians are spending. If the information were available, it is most probable it would show that programme companies importing American records and film for private stations earned more than Canadian artists on private stations and that commissions to advertising agencies, some \$22 millions in 1959, were also greater than talent or script fees paid by the CBC and private stations combined.

The third question concerns advertising. In 1959, the gross expenditure estimated by "Marketing" was \$152 millions, of which \$74 millions was for radio advertising and \$78 millions for television. From this advertising agency commissions of 15 per cent should be deducted, leaving some \$130 millions. Using the advertising revenue for the fiscal year 1958-59 as the total for the calendar year, the advertising carried by the CBC was \$32 millions. The gross for the private station was then \$120 millions, or, after commissions, \$100 millions.

Thus the personal investment of \$2,450 millions in sets since 1932 and the annual personal expenditure of some \$750 millions by Canadians enable the advertisers for \$152 millions expenditure annually to enter most of the homes in Canada and with mainly American programmes to advertise mainly American products, many of them in competition with Canadian products. This was once not true of the CBC but since television, the Fowler Report and the recent House of Commons Committee, the CBC has been forced for revenues to sell its best and most expensive evening hours to advertisers and for the most part only American companies and subsidiaries can afford the costs.

The implications of these brief answers to three questions relating to programmes, Canadian talent and advertising should be already apparent. The Canadian people have paid two-and-a-half billion dollars or more to create a common broadcasting system of receiving sets and stations and are paying some three quarters of a billion a year to operate it. It is now operated to distribute most of the time American entertainment paid for in large part by the advertising of American-owned companies. Particularly is this true of the peak hours of the evening when the largest audiences are available. With the exception of CBC radio, CBC non-advertising programmes on television of

which there are too few, and a number of sometimes comparable sustaining programmes here and there on private stations, Canadian broadcasting, especially at peak hours, is now a predominantly commercial system used to sell goods, most of them American goods. This is not to suggest that this situation is either good or bad, (and certainly it should be clearly stated that no anti-Americanism is intended); it is simply noted that this is the result of the market forces which have necessarily shaped private broadcasting and, under pressure for revenue by commissions and committees, now also shape so much of CBC broadcasting.

In practice and in purpose, Canadian broadcasting has significantly departed from the original, carefully studied concept, accepted in 1932 by a unanimous House of Commons, a concept of a predominantly public service system using the vast, rich opportunities of the medium for some other purpose and on some other motive than selling. Broadcasting is an economic instrument and its use for some advertising part of the time is, in North America, inevitable, and not in this article opposed. American entertainment programmes are among the most popular alike in Canada, Britain and Europe and Canadians rightly insist on seeing or hearing them. The objections, then, are not of unreal principle but of degree. Is broadcasting being fully used for all its many purposes or is it, as here is argued, too largely motivated by market considerations and are those considerations serving Canadian or other business interests? These are the questions—and the answers, on the available information, are unfavourable. Canadians are spending a very great deal and they are not getting their money's worth.

Perhaps this is a wrong conclusion and the Canadian people are getting what they want. This may be the opposite of what the legislation and the decisions of Royal Commissions and Parliamentary Committees intended. But it may be what the Canadian audience wishes and what market forces and revenue needs impose. Certainly, there are numerous private broadcasters flapping contradictory rating statistics hot from American survey bureaux, who will insist and offer to prove that this is indeed what the people want and that the only sensible way to finance Canadian broadcasting is to be found in a

combination of maximum advertising and minimum live Canadian programming. They may be right. Mr. Williams of Procter and Gamble may also have been right last spring in urging the association of private broadcasters and individual stations to rally round in opposition to the proposal of the BBG that programme content (over four weeks) should be Canadian for 55 per cent of the time.

But whether they be right or wrong in their judgement of Canadian interests and wishes, it is at least worth gently raising the question of the increasing assimilation of the Canadian audience to the American, and the progressive incorporation of the Canadian retail market into the American market, and inquiring if this was the purpose of Parliament or the objective of those individual Canadians who invested and who annually spend so many millions of dollars on their twelve million receiving sets.

Freedom And Necessity In Greek Tragedy

by

D. J. CONACHER

"Most Tragedy seems to involve a kind of dual motivation: it may be shown to result from something in the character and actions of the sufferer, but also from some necessity, which goes by many names, over which he has no control."

AMONG the ancient Greeks, the tragic idea seems to have had its roots in the desire to find some principle by which the catastrophic suffering observable in the world might appear not as chaotic, haphazard and senseless, but as part of an intelligible, or at least predictable, order of things. From its ritual origins onwards, Tragedy always sought some kind of victory or control over suffering and evil, and the reduction of the realm of Chance, most abhorrent of all deities to the Greeks, was perhaps the earliest and most enduring form of this victory. However, this initial idea operated as a dynamic principle. The attempt to oust Chance itself produced the idea of certain necessary sequences in human as in natural events; we find these exemplified in such ideas as familial curses, blood guilts affecting future generations, in such gnomic sayings as "Great prosperity leads to great disaster", and in the conception of jealous gods, which is the mythological expression of the same idea. These patterns of necessity themselves provided another challenge to the Greeks, a challenge to human freedom and to the noble desire to be captain of one's fate, for good or ill. However, the germ of individual responsibility thus engendered never devolved, in Tragedy, into simple presentations of crime and punishment. Aristotle wisely warns us of this aesthetic danger by pointing out that the mere downfall of a villain inspires neither of the tragic emotions of pity and fear, "for pity" (he tells us) "is aroused by unmerited misfortune, fear for misfortune of a man like ourselves." Thus most Tragedy seems to involve a kind of dual motivation: it may be shown to result from something in the character and actions of the sufferer,

but also from some necessity, which goes by many names, over which he has no control. Even in tragedies involving moral guilt, there seems always to be one sense at least in which the hero does not deserve to suffer, or does not deserve to suffer quite so much. Thus the conflict between freedom and necessity is never quite resolved: however much the poet seeks to conquer the inexplicable, the "external", in human suffering, a certain element of it remains.¹ If this seems inconsistent, one should remember that Tragedy is not philosophy. Since Tragedy seeks to imitate life, it must present it as clearly as possible *as it appears to man*; thus, while it often seeks to reduce life to some intelligible order, it must preserve something of its mystery as well. It is this struggle between freedom and necessity, appearing in a variety of forms according to the different conceptions of the poets, that supplies one of the chief tensions in the tragic drama of the Greeks.

The plot material of Greek Tragedy was drawn, for the most part, from the traditional myths and legends of the past. There were sound historical reasons for this convention, but even apart from these, the removal of tragedy from the experience of everyday living was of great advantage to its creators. It is difficult to attach ideas on the nature of the universe, and on the meaning of suffering and evil, to the particular and contingent happenings of everyday life. The myths supplied the dramatist with certain well-known and catastrophic happenings in the lives of ancient heroes. How much more universality the poet's tragic view achieves when it is demonstrated not in situations made specifically for the purpose but in famous paradigms of human suffering which have already achieved a certain archetypal status! Saga, the ancient repository of these tales, was wont to dwell more on the "what happened" than on "the why", or, if explanations *were* given, they were expressed in the unintellectual terms proper to myth (for example, "Such and such happened because the goddess Hera was angry"). But the real answers, the expressions of underlying significance, belonged to the individual tragedian who chose to adapt

¹ Cf. William Chase Greene, *Moirai* (Cambridge, Mass. 1944) 95-6:

"Tragedy thus arouses in us a sense of incongruity, a *malaise*, a 'qualm' as it has been called. And many critics feel in such cases that our moral sense has been outraged." Cf. also Greene's references *ad loc.* to P. H. Frye, *Romance and Tragedy* (Boston 1922).

these myths to his own purposes and to express through them his individual view of life. Thus, to observe the different approaches to myth taken by the three Greek tragedians serves as a useful introduction to the individual tragic ideas and dramatic structure of their work.

Aeschylus began writing his tragedies at a time when the mythological account of the universe and the authority of the gods of myths were being challenged on two fronts. In philosophy, empirical scientists were beginning to formulate physical principles of law and order in the universe, while on the political front, the Athenian body politic, after its victorious struggles both with her own tyrants and with the Persian despot from abroad, was emerging from its crucible of suffering as the democratic city-state. In this new atmosphere, men looked for a physical order in the universe and in the affairs of men, and this was hardly to be found in myth's somewhat primitive explanations of human suffering and in the arbitrary activities of the Homeric gods fulfilling their various spites and favouritisms.

Aeschylus took up this challenge on behalf of the mythological view of life. In dramatic terms, he reformulated the myths he treated in such a way as to present a picture of the universe, and of the world of men, as divinely ordered and essentially good. In seeking some meaning in human suffering, Aeschylus was perhaps helped by his observation of the struggle from which Athens was now emerging. The tyrants, in one sense champions of the people, had brought much good to Athens, but their threat to social justice, like the threat to Zeus of the good rebel Prometheus, saviour of man, had to be overthrown before the new order could emerge. Good has come out of suffering and evil and the victors learn something even from their fallen adversaries.

The victory over Persia provided Aeschylus with still greater evidence both of the good which comes out of suffering and of the operation of divine justice. Once again, the key to the enemy's downfall was clear: to Athenian eyes, the Persian King Xerxes was the epitome of *hybris*, that overweening pride which must be levelled by the gods, but Aeschylus saw that Xerxes was the target not merely of the *jealous* gods but of the justice of Zeus, since his overstepping of his allotted portion was an affront to the divine order.

Again and again, two principles are found operating in Aeschylus' treatment of human suffering: one, *drasanti pathein* (the doer of the evil deed must suffer) concerns human responsibility; the other *pathei mathos* (by suffering comes knowledge) indicates the ultimate plan of Zeus. The harmony which Aeschylus envisaged was an evolutionary one, and the consecutive trilogy, the form in which most of his work was cast, was ideally suited to his mighty themes which cover generations, or even aeons of time, before the tragic lesson is fully learned.

Aeschylus' treatment of a familial curse, such as one finds in the Oresteian trilogy, provides the clearest example of these ideas. In the first play, the murder of Agamemnon by Clytemnestra and Aegisthus appears both as requital for Agamemnon's sacrifice of his daughter Iphigenia and as the fulfilment of a familial curse arising from father Atreus' murder of his brother's children. In the second play, Orestes, at the command of Apollo, avenges his father's death by slaying Clytemnestra; in the third, Orestes is, in turn, pursued by avenging furies until finally we reach the typical Aeschylean evolution of good out of suffering and evil: the establishment, by the gods, of a human court of justice puts an end to such blood feuds and to the supernatural curses which each blood-letting has released.

It is in the treatment of individual sufferings within such family curses that the opposition between the predetermined sweep of necessity and some idea of individual responsibility is most evident. While Aeschylus is careful to play up Agamemnon's own guilt, he still preserves the idea of a familial *alastor* (or "curse personified") as Clytemnestra's coadjutor in the vengeance; and in Cassandra's vision of the deed to come, the spectacle of Thyestes' murdered children, holding their butchered entrails in their hands, are among the most terrible assurances of the inevitability of Agamemnon's death; even the slaughter of Iphigenia, when, as Aeschylus puts it, Agamemnon takes upon himself "the yoke of necessity", is in part the result of the terrible dilemma which the gods themselves have thrust upon him. It is precisely this hint of something "not quite fair", this intrusion, for all our philosophy, of the uncontrollable element in human destiny, which, as we have suggested, brings tragedy within the range of

human sympathy. We find it again in *The Persians* in the chorus' description of the temptation of Xerxes:

Baneful deception of god —
 What mortal man shall avoid it? . . .
 Benign and coaxing at first
 It leads us astray into nets which
 No mortal is able to slip,
 Whose doom we can never flee.

(92-101, trans. Seth G. Benardete)

. . . and yet the god-tempted King is later to be punished for his *hybris*. Certainly this tension between freedom and necessity, this sense of a hero's fulfilling by his free actions a doom toward which the gods are tempting him, is invaluable as a dramatic principle. It provides the major excitement in Aeschylus' *Seven Against Thebes* in which Eteocles and Polynices fulfil the curse of their father Oedipus by dying in fratricidal strife. As a herald describes each successive chieftain who will attack one or another of the seven gates, Eteocles, the defending King, selects a warrior whose specific excellence will best oppose the darker valour of the enemy outside. We *know*, of course, what must happen at the seventh gate, even before Polynices is announced as its attacker, but by this brilliant device of having appropriate opponents chosen in each case, the impression of Eteocles' *freedom* to choose his doom mounts *pari passu* with the very sense of inevitability about his final choice . . . "I'll go myself. What other has more right?" . . . "It is the god that drives the matter on". (673, 689.)

The tragedy of Aeschylus seems particularly remote from modern dramatic ideas because it is not concerned with the individual, considered as a personality or a "character", who suffers. The doom itself is the thing which interests Aeschylus, and the tragic sufferer often is important for what he or his career represents, rather than for himself. King Xerxes, in *The Persians*, and Agamemnon in *his* play, make but brief appearances, the latter to demonstrate *hybris* (of which we already know him guilty) by one symbolic act onstage, the former to illustrate its terrible results. Often (as in the *Prometheia*, that cosmic struggle in which Zeus himself is thought to have attained his

harmony and justice only after his struggles with the champion of men) these plays exist above the human level altogether. The *Oresteia* begins with a *crime passionnel*, but, in the second play, the avengers have become the puppets of the gods and of the outraged spirit of Agamemnon, while the action of the third play almost abandons individual heroes and concentrates on the contest between two opposing systems of justice championed by rival divinities.

With Sophocles, the tragic approach to mythical material undergoes a drastic change. Sophocles was interested in man, not in all men, nor in Everyman, but in certain idealized studies of heroic individuals. He developed the classic type of tragic hero, a lonely figure struggling against tremendous odds (his "fate" or "the gods" or "circumstance") but who, suffer as he must, leaves his mark by clearly establishing his own personal vision, his unique conception of *aretê*, that particular form of excellence or nobility which he feels called upon to fulfil. Professor Kitto has thus described the Sophoclean formula: "a hero of a certain kind is placed in circumstances such that the play between character and circumstances is bound to result in disaster for the hero." For Sophocles, then, the traditional material of myth served largely to provide the context of necessity, the given situation over which the heroes have no control but within which they make their free — and fatal — decisions. In his very excellence the hero carries within him the seeds of his own destruction: the loyalty and mettle of an Electra or of an Antigone *must* respond to their terrible dilemmas in the way that they do, even though, in their dedications (Electra to a career of vengeance, Antigone to defiance of an impious law) they destroy their lives and all other aspects of their personality. Oedipus, reader of riddles and city-defender *par excellence*, must, if he is to remain himself, complete his long voyage of self-discovery, once the city's riddle and the city's plague is set before him. The valour of Ajax, for whom life's meaning is renown in battle, can only respond to humiliation in *that* sphere by suicide. So Ajax tells us himself, as he contemplates life after his disgrace:

What can I *do*? Some feat
To make my poor old father understand

He has no soft-bellied coward for a son.
 Long life? Who but a coward would ask for it,
 Beset by endless evil? Can he enjoy
 Counting the days that pass, now a step forward
 Now a step backward, on the way to death?
Who'd be that man? To huddle over the coals
 Of flickering hope. Not I. Honour in life,
 Or honour in death; there is no other thing
 A nobleman can ask for. That is all.

(470-80, trans. E. F. Watling, my italics.)

(It is a typical feature of Sophoclean heroes that the particular virtue which they are called to exercise tends, in the circumstance, to overshadow the rest of their personality. This absolute certainty of their justification gives them a harsh and unsympathetic quality, but they are not as other men, for without this quality they would never be able to take and to abide by their terrible decisions. This feature does not necessarily imply a fault [as certain interpreters of Aristotle have thought] though it may often be said of them that they perish of an excess of virtue. On the other hand, they are not to be confused with the one-sided figures of Euripides. There is evidence that Sophocles' Electra and Antigone have other more lovable potentialities which they might well have developed had their circumstances been otherwise, but it is hard to imagine a tolerant, well-balanced Hippolytus or a really tame Medea!)

Nowhere in Greek Tragedy is the tension between freedom and necessity more tightly drawn than in Sophocles. In the first place, as we have suggested, the given situation in which the hero finds himself is one in which he has been placed through no fault or choice of his own; in the second place, many of the plays end with the fulfilment or the vindication of an oracle, contrary to the expectation and sometimes even the efforts of the characters concerned. Finally, by certain ironic hints, Sophocles frequently suggests that the action, even though it proceeds naturally, "in accordance with probability and necessity", is at the same time proceeding in accordance with the will of the gods, so that we might almost imagine, with Kitto, a kind of divine volition paralleling the human action of the play. Nevertheless, we should guard against viewing Sophoclean Tragedy simply

as the working out of a hero's god-determined destiny. In Sophocles, the gods are both everything and nothing, which is why they have been subject to such widely varying interpretations: they are everything in that nothing ever happens in Sophoclean Tragedy contrary to what they, or their human spokesmen the prophets, say will happen — and no man ever really gets the better of them; they are nothing in that the action of every Sophoclean play is, throughout, the direct result of human character and human will.

In this connection, it is interesting to note the reticence of Aristotle (whose remarks on Tragedy seem to fit the Sophoclean variety best) on the subject of fate in Tragedy. This is in keeping with his insistence that tragic effect depends on the proper choice and proper treatment of plot and character. Plot itself, he clearly implies (though he never states it in quite such formulaic terms) should arise from the interaction of character and situation. Little or nothing is said of *external* causation, except for the significant warning that "within the action there must be nothing irrational (*alogon*). If the irrational cannot be excluded, it should be outside the scope of the tragedy. Such (Aristotle adds significantly) is the the irrational element in the *Oedipus* of Sophocles." (*Poetics* xv 1454 b 2 ff; Butcher's translation).

Since the *Oedipus Tyrannus* is frequently cited by those who emphasize the fatalism of Greek Tragedy, we should, perhaps, attempt a brief illustration of our theme in connection with it. It was foretold to Laius, Oedipus' father, that if he bore a son, that son would kill his father and marry his mother, and Oedipus, brought up by foster parents whom he thought to be his real ones, *did*, for all his attempts to avoid the oracle's fulfilment, commit both these atrocities in ignorance. This, however, is not the action of our play. When the play opens, Oedipus is at the pinnacle of prosperity and renown; though once a stranger at the gates, he has, by answering the Sphinx's riddle, saved the Theban people and now reigns as King, with the widow of Laius as his consort. The theme of the *Oedipus Tyrannus* is the tragically ironic contrast between his real and his apparent situation: the fact that he who appears the most blessed of men is actually the most cursed and abhorred in the eyes of men and gods alike. Its action

concerns the King's long and painful journey, delayed by various ironic misunderstandings, to self-discovery. Every step in this journey proceeds from the character and decisions of the King himself as, seeking to free the city from the plague which now besets it, he swears to find the murderer of Laius. Thus the catastrophe arises, by a perfectly probable sequence of events, from the plot itself (just as Aristotle would have it), and not from any external cause. But the deeds which Oedipus uncovers, the hidden facts which give to every word and deed their dreadful irony, belong to another sequence which was determined before the very birth of him who ought never to have seen the light of day. We have noted earlier a somewhat different kind of tension between freedom and necessity within the action of the play: given the situation and the kind of man we know Oedipus to be, he *had* to choose to read his riddle. Now that tension takes on another dimension in the ironic interplay between the willed actions within the play and the involuntary, predetermined deeds which it is their business to discover.

(In various attempts to justify the suffering of Oedipus, much has been written on the relations between his character and his fall. In this connection, stress has been laid on the violence, the impulsive anger and the hasty judgment which he exhibits in his treatment of the holy man, Tiresias. Now this would have shocked and alerted a Greek audience, particularly in a play of Sophocles where, as we have noted, the gods' prophets are never wrong. Thus we are quite right to pay attention to it. As it turns out, this harsh treatment of the prophet is the indirect cause of Oedipus' tragic discovery. Goaded by Oedipus' insults, Tiresias makes the revelation which, though Oedipus does not believe it, first turns his attention toward himself and sparks a regular chain-reaction of events leading to the climax. Oedipus' anger [and fear?] leads to the quarrel with Creon, which leads to the intervention of Jocasta: *her* attempts to comfort him with supposed evidence of unfulfilled oracles provide him with the first real clue that he may be the murderer. Again, it is the same rash, impulsive judgment of Oedipus which leads him to brush aside Jocasta's warnings, when the riddle of his birth is coming dangerously close to solution, with the unjust charge of "feminine snobbery". Thus

it is true that these qualities in Oedipus do lead to his self-discovery in our play, but they do not, of course, make him deserve the suffering which that discovery brings. It has further been argued that it was this same quality of impulsive anger which led Oedipus in the first place to slay the stranger at the three cross-roads . . . and it may be true that Sophocles wants us to see the later violent and impulsive Oedipus as consistent with the earlier one, before the play begins. But all that we can say that Oedipus is *guilty* of, for this rash anger, is the slaughter of an old stranger and his servants for a slight reason — and this is not the significant aspect of the deed, not the aspect of it which causes Oedipus his special pollution and later suffering. One thing and one thing only is in question here — parricide. One does not expect a chance-met stranger to be one's father . . . and so we cannot lay the moral responsibility for this parricide on Oedipus' hasty temper. To those who would argue the case still further beyond the plot, *viz.*, that Oedipus, knowing what he does, should have avoided violent encounters with any man old enough to be his father, we can only reply that Sophocles himself gives us no invitation to pursue this line of thought. The fact that there is no suggestion of Oedipus' moral responsibility for his awful deeds [indeed lines 1329-30 rather suggest the opposite] would surely indicate that for this play the past of Oedipus is simply accepted as the fixed and necessary circumstances in which the present action of the play evolves).²

Aeschylus and Sophocles dramatized the essential elements of freedom and necessity in Tragedy by expressing a certain tension between the world of myth, with its fixed patterns of events indicative of some divine plan or order in the universe, and the individual will of the tragic hero. Thus both succeeded in presenting a single view of tragic suffering and of presenting a consistent dramatic form for its expression in a variety of different circumstances. It is precisely this singleness of view and consistency of form which Euripides is

² For excellent studies of the relation between character and plot in the *Oedipus Tyrannus*, see Bernard Knox, *Oedipus at Thebes* (New Haven 1957), chap. i, especially pp. 14-31, and G. M. Kirkwood, *A Study of Sophoclean Drama* (Ithaca 1958) 55-6, 127-35. For a detailed discussion of the relation between Fate and the will and character of Oedipus, see Greene, *op. cit.*, 154-62. It is to that part of Greene's analysis which appears to go beyond the subject matter of the play that I have taken exception in the above discussion.

most criticized for lacking. This appearance of inconsistency in Euripides springs, I think, from two main sources. Never really accepting the world of myth as the real basis of his tragedies, he used this traditional material in a variety of different ways and this very virtuosity has been mistaken for confusion and uncertainty upon the poet's part. Secondly, particularly in those plays in which the supernatural world of myth does not play a significant rôle, Euripides sought that element of necessity with which man's free choices come in conflict in the shifting world of experience. The result was that Euripides wrote several different *kinds* of tragedy, depending on what aspect of human suffering he chose to examine in any given play, and (very sensibly in my opinion) he varied his structure to suit the particular tragic idea which he was seeking to express. Illustration of this formal variety in Euripides would require detailed examination of several specific plays; nevertheless, it may be possible to indicate in general terms the declension from the established tragic pattern observable in certain Euripidean plays.

The "man against fate" conception of Tragedy we have found to imply some kind of tension between the individual will and the divine order of things imposed by the gods, and this conception, as we have seen from its various modifications in Aeschylus and Sophocles, itself determines that the tragic hero (either for his own sake, as in Sophocles, or for the kind of doom he symbolizes, as in Aeschylus) must be at the centre of the action and that his catastrophe must be the climax of the play, the "moment of truth" at which the whole meaning of the tragedy becomes clear. Euripides, because he was not, in many of his plays, pitting man against, or fitting man into, an objective supernatural world of reality, sometimes presents us with tragic situations and tragic actions in which the individual tragic hero is no longer regarded as the only and indispensable focal point in the depiction of human suffering.

Euripides' varied approach to myth provides, then, an initial difficulty in comparing his drama with that of the other Greek tragedians. Here we may begin with a major dualism. On the one hand, Euripides devoted much of his dramatic energies to the ridicule and

satire of literal belief in the traditional gods of myth and of their intervention in human affairs. Sometimes this takes the form of "between-the-lines" comment such as Helen's on her mythological birth ("Who ever heard of a woman being born from an egg as they say that Leda bore me to Zeus?" *Helena*, 257-59) or Iphigenia's, on the bloodthirsty rites which she was required to perform for the Tauric Artemis ("I think that these people, being man-slaying men themselves, put their own fault upon the goddess. For in my opinion no one of the gods is evil." *Iphigeneia in Tauris*, 389-91). Sometimes this satire is bound up with the whole play, as in the *Ion*, where unforeseen human developments frustrate the plans of Apollo, god of prophecy. However, parody and satire are not the stuff of tragedy and it is in his tragi-comedies and melodramas that this aspect of Euripides' approach to myth is most emphasized. On the other hand, in a few plays, such as the *Hippolytus* and the *Bacchae*, Euripides takes myth seriously and uses certain anthropomorphic gods to symbolize certain real forces which, he believed, vitally affect the lives of men. In between these two extremes, there are certain plays, such as the *Hercules Furens* and the *Troades*, which are undeniably tragic in their effect and yet which do, like the melodramas, involve a negative or sceptical attitude to the gods of mythology. In such plays, however, the mythical element is not in itself of any real significance in the tragic action; it may, as in the *Hercules Furens*, supply some violent intervention "from outside" but the main dramatic function of such events lies in their effect upon the human characters. (As such, they are a little like the "accidents" which E. M. Forster sometimes employs in his novels as catalysts introduced from outside the action simply for the sake of the revealing responses which they evoke from his characters).

Generally speaking, the farther one gets from the truly mythical view, the more severely the classical form of Tragedy (such as we find it in Sophoclean structure) is stretched. The *Hercules Furens* makes use of, and yet abuses, the "other world" of myth and in order to do so employs one of the strangest dramatic structures in the whole of Greek drama. Here the "mythological" catastrophe — Hera's mad-

dening of Heracles so that he destroys his family — is related neither to the character of the hero nor to the antecedent action of the play, and the tragic significance of the play, instead of being revealed by the catastrophe, appears in the hero's recovery from it, in the victory of his heroic nature over the meaningless afflictions imposed upon him. When tragic structure is strained much more than this, the tension between the world of human experience, of the individual human will, and the world of supernatural reality, snaps entirely, and we find in many other Euripidean plays, myth being exploited, not re-created, for melodrama, parody and tragi-comedy, or else, in yet another type of Euripidean tragedy, abandoned altogether.

Thus a formal survey of the *tragic* plays of Euripides should, disregarding chronological sequence, begin by describing the plays which may properly be called mythical (for these are the ones which offer the clearest contrasts and comparisons with the tragic conceptions of Aeschylus and Sophocles) and then go on to sketch the gradual declension of Euripidean tragic form from the "near-mythical" *Hercules Furens* to the political and social tragedies of war and its aftermath (such as *Troades*, *Suppliques*, *Andromache*), where the poet's eye rests squarely on the world of human experience and on man's dealings with his fellow-men; finally, it should reach tragedies like the *Medea* and the *Hecuba* which, like the "mythical" plays, deal with individual, self-destroying tragic sufferers but which deal with them in realistic contexts (one bourgeois, one political) which really depend little on the world of myth.

To conclude our present study, we must limit ourselves to a brief glance at two plays belonging to the first of the groups just indicated. Even in those Euripidean plays which accept the world of myth and which use traditional stories of the dealing of the gods with men as basis of serious drama, we may expect to find considerable divergence from the mythical attitudes of Aeschylus and Sophocles. The *Hippolytus* and the *Bacchae* are both based on myths of divine vengeance in which a god punishes a human hero for failing to give the god his due. In both plays, the prologue and the epilogue clearly state these literal meanings of the myths but in both plays the dramatic action in between expresses the real meaning of the hero's tragic fall.

In the *Hippolytus*,³ Aphrodite tells us how she will ruin the chaste Hippolytus by causing his step-mother Phaedra to fall in love with him and thus unjustly bring the curse of Theseus upon his head. By several skilful devices, the poet leads us to interpret this theme of divine vengeance in strictly human terms. The process begins with the poet's treatment of the gods themselves: here, in addition to the "divine frame" device already mentioned, the credibility of both Aphrodite in the Prologue and Artemis in the Epilogue is greatly impaired by the manner of their characterization. Aphrodite, for example, outdoes even the anthropomorphic gods of Homer in sheer vindictiveness and spite. Such treatment by a sophisticated poet of the fifth century is hardly to be thought convincing, in purpose or in effect — particularly when one contrasts it with the solemn and allusive treatment of the gods by a sincere apologist like Aeschylus. Far more convincing is the moving picture of Phaedra, struggling with the guilty but very human passion which she can conquer only by her death. The skilful humanization of the myth is continued in the presentation of Hippolytus who, in his "cultist" attitude to life, clearly illustrates his fatal — and freely chosen — limitations. (Here we should note the *exclusiveness* of Hippolytus' devotion to Artemis, his somewhat hysterical athleticism, his description of the "sacred grove" and his withdrawal from all company save a band of youths who are similarly dedicated. It is this same exclusiveness which leads his servant to warn him of his *semnotês* (line 88 ff.) [which means "haughtiness", "smugness" as well as "holiness"] and his father to revile him for his priggishness). Perhaps the clearest indication that we are not to look upon Hippolytus as simply the innocent victim of a vindictive god is the fact that he himself supplies, in a particularly characteristic way, the immediate cause of his own downfall. His wholesale and gratuitous attack on Phaedra and on all women ends with the words, "Let someone teach them to be modest (*sôphronein*) or let me crush them all forever." (668). Had he not delivered this

³ The general view of the *Hippolytus* which follows has been expressed at greater length in my article, "Some Euripidean Techniques in the Dramatic Treatment of Myth", *University of Toronto Quarterly* xxii (October 1952) 56-62.

tirade, Phaedra would have died without an incriminating word. As it is, she tells us:

In dying, I will become a bane at least to that other one as well, that he may learn not to be so lofty about my woes. In sharing this affliction with me, he will learn the true quality of *sôphrosynê*. (725-31)

Thus it is the excesses of the chaste Hippolytus which lead to his fatal incrimination, by Phaedra, in the eyes of Theseus. When, after Phaedra's suicide, the King reads in her farewell note that Hippolytus has seduced her, he curses Hippolytus with one of three effective curses granted to him by the god Poseidon long ago. Informed as we are by the human action of the play, we can no longer accept as the whole truth the literal explanation of the myth which Artemis repeats for the dying hero in the epilogue that this is all the work of Aphrodite, "jealous of her slighted honour, vexed at thy chaste life" (1402).

In the *Bacchae*, Pentheus, the puritanical King of Thebes, confusing Dionysianism with debauchery, denies the divinity of Dionysus and suppresses his worship in the state; Dionysus, after testing the King's obdurate blindness by a series of miracles, finally destroys him. As in the *Hippolytus*, the action of the play transcends the literal level of his crude myth of divine vengeance, first by expounding the real meaning of Dionysianism, that irrational, re-creative power of the emotions capable of great good or of utter destruction, secondly by presenting in human terms the ruinous career of Pentheus who would suppress this power only to have it reappear in monstrous form to crush him.

In what happens to Hippolytus and to Pentheus we see the results, inevitable and tragic, of the whole of their one-sided personalities. Can we find in this treatment of myth any reflection of that necessity which, in the other tragedians, always appears as some divine pattern of justice, externally imposed, which limits and defines man's freedom? I think we can. The mythological features of these two tragedies, however symbolic their presentation, still present certain necessities with which the hero fails to cope, but now these necessities have moved within the world of experience, even within the soul of man. Artemis, Aphrodite and Dionysus represent essential

elements in life: we see them in tense isolation in the doomed figures of Hippolytus, Phaedra and Pentheus. Only when they are harmonized in the typically Greek virtue of *sôphrosynê* (so badly misunderstood by Pentheus and Hippolytus) can the soul of man be freed from their fatal constraint.

Little Dorrit: Experience And Design

by

R. D. McMASTER

Dickens, the entertainer and social commentator, has never lacked admirers, but not until recently has Dickens, the artist, begun to receive his due measure of appreciation. Here is a sensitive study of the novel which has been called Dickens' masterpiece, casting new light on its masterly integration of "a mass of detail into a coherent vision".

CHESTERTON described Dickens' novels as "simply lengths cut from the flowing and mixed substance called Dickens — a substance of which any given length will be certain to contain a given proportion of brilliant and of bad stuff". As Sam Weller might put it, Dickens resembles a "patent-never-leavin'-off sausage steam engine, as ud swaller up a pavin' stone if you put it too near, and grind it into sasaages as easy as if it was a tender young babby". As for *Little Dorrit*, Chesterton seems to come close to his own feeling and that of many other readers, when he describes it as a book "in some ways so much more subtle and in every way so much more sad than the rest of his work that it bores Dickensians". George Bernard Shaw, on the other hand, considered it Dickens' "masterpiece among many masterpieces", "a more seditious book than *Das Kapital*", a book beside which "Lenin's criticisms of modern society seem like the platitudes of a rural dean", and likened the period of its creation to Beethoven's "third manner", too rich and too strange for immediate explication. Lionel Trilling, the only critic in a hundred years to mine its riches substantially, calls it "one of the most significant works of the nineteenth century", and argues that it "will not fail to be thought of as speaking with a peculiar and passionate intimacy to our own time". Perhaps the most important question concerning *Little Dorrit* is just *how* it is to speak to us, or rather how we are to understand it. Is it Chesterton's lugubrious sausage, Shaw's seditious dynamite, or is it, "when reduced to general terms", what Humphry House, a justly

respected Dickens scholar, would have it, "a plea for an active and efficient bureaucracy"?

In *The Nature of Gothic* Ruskin tells us that "Men are universally divided, as respects their artistical qualifications, into three great classes; a right, a left, and a centre. On the right side are the men of facts, on the left the men of design, in the centre the men of both." Concentrating on the social satire, most critics of *Little Dorrit* would make Dickens a man of fact: those who agree with Chesterton must certainly deny that he is a man of design; and yet those who were stung by its satire rejected the book on the grounds that it was all irresponsible caricature and romance, that is, design. To understand Dickens' art properly at this phase of his career, therefore, unless one is content with the authority of the eleventh Britannica that Dickens is a man with "no artistic ideals worth speaking about", it may be worthwhile to examine the relationship in *Little Dorrit* between experience and design.

As Dickens' comments show, *Little Dorrit*, which sprang from immediate social experience perhaps more clearly and directly than any of his other books, was fiercely satirical in intent. As he began to write in 1855 and '56, three things were stirring his indignation: the maladministration of government offices in general and of the Crimean campaign in particular; fraudulence and failure in three banking houses, one of whose directors committed suicide; and what Palmerston was said to have regarded as the "Sabbatarian tomfoolery" of Lord Robert Grosvenor, who had introduced a Sunday trading bill morally satisfying to the rich but socially oppressive to the poor. Each of these concerns gives rise to a principal group of characters and thereby to a principal thread of action in the novel: government muddle and nepotism emerge in the aristocrats of the Circumlocution Office and Hampton Court ("I have," said Dickens of this part, "relieved my soul with a scarifier."); commercial fraud emerges in the millionaire Merdle and his group of anonymous toadies; and Sabbatarian tomfoolery emerges in the demonic horror of London on Sunday and in the stony figure of Mrs. Clennam wilfully paralyzed in a rotting house by her savage and virulent piety. *Little Dorrit's* readers fully understood its satirical intent. James Fitzjames Stephens, seeing in

the Tite Barnacles of the Circumlocution Office an attack on his father and his father's friends, counterattacked with a series of articles in the *Saturday Review* which maintained that novelists have no mission "to recreate and rehabilitate society", especially with such "puppy pie and stewed cat", and stigmatized Dickens and Reade as "writers who are to society what rats and worms are to a ship's bottom".

The problem of design was how to integrate these apparently diverse objects of satire into a single vision; not simply to achieve sparse linear symmetry, nor to work out the mechanics of plot and intrigue with such nicety as impressed Coleridge in *Tom Jones*, but to make a meaningful whole of the sort of book Henry James perplexedly described as a "large, loose, baggy monster". Dickens' own image for the sort of organic unity he wanted is the bloodstream: "In *Miss Wade*," he says, "I had an idea, which I thought a new one, of making the introduced story so fit into surroundings impossible of separation from the main story, as to make the blood of the book circulate through both." One type of structure employed in *Little Dorrit* would be immediately familiar to Dickens' readers or any subscriber to Mudie's circulating library: the structure of romance with its world of extreme moral contrasts, its characters, reminiscent of the medieval vice and virtue, with unusual powers and dimensions, mysterious delights and despairs, who live amidst surrealistic settings that verge on the apocalyptic and demonic. One reason for *Little Dorrit's* lack of popularity with a certain type of reader, indeed, was just that it went too far in that direction: even Forster complains that its heroine is "tiresome by want of reality". And if romance is a displacement of myth, this is what we would expect. In *Little Dorrit*, however, the displacement of myth is not just a question of manner or style but displacement of a particular myth which itself determines the imagery and style. Ironically enough, in a book that describes Dante as "an eccentric man in the nature of an Old File", the myth is that of the journey through the labyrinth, the *Inferno*. So what at first sight, if we consider the melodramatic complexity of the intrigue in which Mrs. Clennam, while Dorrit languishes in prison for a quarter of a century, conceals the involved details of a secret will (a matter so elaborately intricate that even Dickens had to sit down and

work it all out again in his notes before writing the last number), or if we consider Rigaud's flamboyantly theatrical villainy, or Little Dorrit's angelic purity — what might, if we consider these, seem to be just the mechanical patterns of conventional romance are in fact the surface phenomena of an organic vision. In organizing into a coherent and copious design the objects of experience, whether derived from immediate social observation or from multifarious personal memories, Dickens blends reality and myth in a way that points forward to *Ulysses* and *Finnegans Wake*. And though in his famous review of *Ulysses* T. S. Eliot speaks of Joyce's use of myth as a new thing, the principal purpose he sees in it is clearly evident here in *Little Dorrit*: to quote him, "It is simply a way of controlling, of ordering, of giving a shape and a significance to the immense panorama of futility and anarchy which is contemporary history."

Of the three stages of romance — the journey through the wasteland, the death struggle of the hero, and the accomplishment of the quest — the first looms largest in *Little Dorrit* because of Dickens' concern about the blighted condition of England. The London to which Arthur Clennam returns from the land of the plagues is one of the clearest and most sombre depictions of the City of Dreadful Night in Victorian literature, a labyrinth of dim and secret streets. As prison the city finds its fullest expression in the Marshalsea, as maze in the frustrating complexities of the Circumlocution Office obscenely devouring its victims: "Numbers of people were lost in the Circumlocution Office . . . Boards sat upon them, secretaries minuted upon them, commissioners gabbled about them, clerks registered, entered, checked, and ticked them off, and they melted away". The image of the labyrinth, of the devouring leviathan in *Little Dorrit*, is more, however, than a satirical representation of specific social institutions; it is an image that expresses the condition of all humanity, an image of the fallen world; as Dickens put it, "the labyrinth trodden by the sons of Adam". As the sun rises over the Marshalsea, prison and world are identified: "For aslant across the city, over its jumbled roofs, and through the open tracery of its church towers, struck the long bright rays, bars of the prison of this lower world". This is one reason why Chesterton is right in stressing the sadness of *Little Dorrit* and why it is much more than "a plea for an active and efficient bureaucracy".

Arthur Clennam describes himself as wandering in "this labyrinth of a world", "a waif and stray everywhere . . . to be drifted where any current may set". "I have no will," he says. His quest is for the cause of his obsessive feeling of guilt, and for the love that will end his spiritual sterility. He finds reviewing his life "like descending a green tree in fruit and flower, and seeing all the branches wither and drop off one by one, as he came down towards them". Throughout his encounters with women runs a recurrent pattern of floral imagery. When Minnie Meagles, whom he has been too diffident and void of will to win from his demonic rival, Gowan, tells him of her decision, he drops the flowers he has brought her into the river: "pale and unreal in the moonlight, the river floated them away". His encounter with an old flame significantly called Flora is another case of Dickens' turning personal experience into fiction: however, "Flora, whom he had left a lily, had become a peony; but that was not much. Flora, who had seemed enchanting in all she said and thought, was diffuse and silly. That was much. Flora, who had been spoiled and artless long ago, was determined to be spoiled and artless now. That was a fatal blow." In all of these encounters, but particularly in that with Little Dorrit, fertility imagery is combined with the imagery of youth and age. Desolate and resigned, believing his life withered and done with, Clennam fails to see his true source of vitality because he thinks of Little Dorrit as a child. "He had been accustomed . . . to speak of himself as one who was turning old. Yet she might not have thought him old. Something reminded him that he had not thought himself so, until the roses had floated away upon the river." Finally, when he has brought himself to the Marshalsea and lies there sick and defeated, she brings him flowers. "Dozing and dreaming, without the power of reckoning time, so that a minute might have been an hour and an hour a minute, some abiding impression of a garden stole over him — a garden of flowers, with a damp warm wind gently stirring their scents."

Clennam's desolation, however, is conveyed not only in his relationships with women but in his relationships with the three groups that dominate the labyrinth of unreal, conflicting and perverse values, the three groups representing money, rank, and righteousness that

sprang from Dickens' animosities as he began to write. Clennam is, first of all, an outsider, an illegitimate child, an orphan, a "waif and stray everywhere", and a traveller returning from the east after many years' absence. He serves, therefore, as the traveller in utopian fiction does, to give us a moral perspective on the society around him. At the same time, as a human being caught in the maze, revolted but also tempted by the powers that rule it, he becomes its victim. Inasmuch as he comes, however unwillingly, under its influence he expresses its character, so that we find a close relationship, typical of romance, between his own sickness and that of the land. In making clear to the reader the deadly delusions and inverted moral values of this society, William Dorrit serves a parallel function, but whereas Clennam as outsider critically evaluates the society, Dorrit in his deep desire to identify himself with it expresses its delusions emblematically. "The family gentility — always the gentility", writes Dickens in his manuscript working notes. The only way Dorrit can maintain the prestige of gentility is to ignore reality completely; he lords it with patriarchal grandeur as Father of the Marshalsea and, when released, crumbles under the twofold strain of losing his riches and having to pretend total ignorance of the prison. His career perfectly illustrates what Trilling describes as a principal function of the novel form: "to record the illusion that snobbery generates and to try to penetrate to the truth which, it assumes, lies hidden beneath all the false appearances". Dorrit building his castles in the Marshalsea is no more removed from the truth than Merdle indigestively nibbling his eighteenpennyworth of food in the great mansion, or the Barnacles expounding the principles of the Circumlocution Office, or Mrs. Clennam improving on God's severity in her dark, rotting house.

Clennam is both shaped and tested by London's evils. First by piety: an illegitimate child, he has been brought up "in a life of practical contrition for the sins that were heavy on his head before his entrance into this condemned world". Mrs. Clennam's persistent preaching of damnation, "when he sat with his hands before him, scared out of his senses by a horrible tract which commenced business with the poor child by asking him in its title, why he was going to Perdition?", her insistence on "penance in this world and terror in the

next", have left him burdened with a conviction of guilt and a deadened will. His contention with aristocracy comes in his championing of the inventor Doyce against the Circumlocution Office and in his rivalling Gowan for the affection of Minnie Meagles: his estimate of Gowan and his own diffidence enable him to overcome jealousy rather easily. Money, however, is a more powerful instrument of evil. The situation is profoundly ironic, when Arthur, who though blighted in will and burdened with feelings of guilt, is nevertheless uncorrupted, himself falls prey to the moral plague. Betraying the trust of his friend, Doyce, he ruins them both by attempting to become rich through Merdle's enterprises. Without hope, his guilt now real, he succumbs to despair, resigns himself to the Marshalsea and falls into a vaguely defined sickness: in terms of the romance pattern, he undergoes the hero's characteristic struggle with death. And now his relationship to Little Dorrit is ironically reversed: instead of his rescuing her from prison, she must rescue him.

Symbolizing spiritual purity in a fallen world of prisons within prisons, Amy Dorrit has a function akin to Una's in *The Faerie Queene* or Beatrice's in *The Divine Comedy*. She rescues Clennam from his destitution of will, purpose and hope, from his literal cave of despair in the Marshalsea. She is "a strong heroine in soul", "angelically comforting", a symbol of vitality in the demonic wasteland: "Looking back upon his own poor story, she was its vanishing point. Everything in its perspective led to her innocent figure. He had travelled thousands of miles towards it; . . . beyond there was nothing but mere waste and darkened sky". Inevitably she must clash with Mrs. Clennam: for, says Dickens, "she was not in stronger opposition to the black figure in the shade, than the life and doctrine on which she rested were to that figure's history". By frustrating Rigaud's plans, by returning forgiveness for Mrs. Clennam's vengeance, Amy obliterates Rigaud's power; the rotting house of evil falls in upon him; and she and Clennam are finally free of the Merdle, Barnacle and pietistical influences — rejected standards of prestige and veneration. The inversion of moral values in Victorian society, the theme Dickens has elaborated throughout the book in a host of relationships and images, is made plain by the fact that true nobility, the result of ability,

humility and active benevolence, is possessed not by the apparent leaders of society but by its victims, Doyce and Little Dorrit.

With the regeneration of the hero and his marriage to the heroine who symbolizes vitality and virtue, we come to the end of the romance pattern. Commenting on *Great Expectations* in his usual stimulating manner, George Bernard Shaw remarked: "In [Dickens'] day there was a convention called a happy ending. It did not mean a happy ending: it meant that the lovers were married in the last chapter . . . The discarded ending was, in fact, the true happy ending." In *Little Dorrit*, however, one finds an ending that is happy in both senses, an ending that still reminds us Dickens' vision in the book is a properly tragic vision, one that encompasses more than Victorian society, the society of a particular place and time. Dickens' setting is the fallen world, and values in it are twisted and upside down because they are those of "the multiplicity of paths in the labyrinth trodden by the sons of Adam". As Amy and Clennam descend from the church steps in the last sentence of the book, it is that world they return to: "They went quietly down into the roaring streets, inseparable and blessed; and as they passed along in sunshine and shade, the noisy and the eager, and the arrogant and the froward and the vain, fretted, and chafed, and made their usual uproar."

Men of James Fitzjames Stephens' stamp would find all this talk of the Ariadne and Theseus myth, of demonic labyrinths, of wasteland and fertility symbols, quest patterns, of characters who turn out to be Dante and Beatrice, or Adam and Eve and the serpent got up in Victorian costume, of Jonah's whale that everyone mistook for nineteenth-century London, more than a little exasperating, might indeed be prompted to vary the Fool's famous line in *Lear* to: "Cry you mercy, I took you for a Dickens novel." One can only reply that the images of labyrinth, wasteland and garden, the conventions of romance and melodrama are central in the whole of Dickens' works, nor are they employed, as the psychiatric critics might say, unconsciously: they are used with calculated, deliberate artistry. To say that *Little Dorrit* is simply the myth of the *Inferno* is, of course, to say very little indeed. What is important is the way in which Dickens uses the mythical design and its attendant imagery. Essentially it has two

purposes: first, it supplies a substructure which integrates a mass of detail into a coherent vision so that at any point in the novel we seem to be looking into its centre: secondly, it provides by implication a moral commentary on experience. As we have seen, *Little Dorrit* is intimately related to contemporary social conditions. By representing those conditions in a recognizable form but also fusing them into a vision full of sombre religious suggestion, Dickens gives depth and universality to his satire. *Little Dorrit's* greatness is measurable by the extent to which experience and design unite to articulate a subtle and copious vision of man's condition. With a fullness and moral fantasy reminiscent of the gothic builder, Dickens raises up what might well be described in Ruskin's words as "a stately and unaccusable whole".

Last Journey For Jasper Holler

by

RHODA ELIZABETH PLAYFAIR

THE stretcher bearers carried the old man from the hospital emergency entrance to the back of the ambulance and put him inside and closed the doors. It was to be the old man's last ride, as the ambulance driver strongly suspected, for they were moving him to a larger hospital in a larger city where he could be examined at "the clinic", and one look at the old man made it abundantly clear that all of this was much too late. But since there was no one to take the responsibility for saying so, no one who would even have admitted it in so many words, not the stretcher bearers or the nurses or the driver, not even the old man himself, he must go.

Afterwards though, when the boys who drove the ambulances got together and talked about their "trips", the way doctors speak of "cases" or old soldiers and business men when they get together talk shop, they would mention him occasionally, in a statistical sort of way, pointing out that it would have been far better if they'd left old Jasper Holler alone to die in his bed, because the way it was the trip only made things harder for him.

But of course the boys who drove the ambulances did not know everything. Not anything, really, because they were still too young and taken up with living and doing and feeling to be concerned with knowing.

It was for the old man, old Jasper Holler himself who had lived alone for the almost seventy years of his lifetime, and who was done with doing and very nearly done with living and feeling, to ponder the mystery of knowing. It was for old Jasper to assess the merits of that ride and even he could not have put an assessment in words — only in what feeling and remembering were now, finally, left to him, and of course in the knowing, which is something different again, compounded as it is of more than feeling and remembering (which are, after all, concerned only with past and present), embracing in addition faith, out of which is woven a pattern for the future. It was all of these things that the ambulance boys had no knowledge

of and that the old man himself had no speaking knowledge of, that accompanied him as he rode.

It took two hours and ten minutes to make the trip even though the distance was only seventy-three miles, but that was because it was March and the road was icy, and because the driver of the ambulance, mindful of the dreadful appearance of the old man after the weeks in hospital, the grey, almost blue, colouring, the flesh hanging in great loose folds where the weight had fallen from him, had driven with extraordinary care.

The old man was hardly aware of the length of time consumed by the trip however, because in the moments of being carried from the hospital entrance to the ambulance, he had smelled March. It was those few, brief moments of breathing March air that was not yet spring and yet no longer winter, that brought to him the smell of the land — land beside water that had been his since he was a young man. He smelled it and he saw it and he felt it, as it was now and as it would be when spring came, with summer to follow, and autumn and winter yet to come, ending, finally, in this time of March once more, this month of in-between that was only a longing — a remembering and a looking forward.

He was warm inside the ambulance. He was reasonably comfortable and he was not in pain for the sedatives had taken care of pain — had pushed it back against the fringes of his consciousness so that he could be grateful for this smell of March and remember how it was, not vaguely, in images that were dulled or overlapping and fuzzy at the edges, but clearly, as though etched against the convolutions of his brain, as though, after so many years of thoughtless seeing and feeling and smelling, there was this total recall of March leading into spring, and on to summer, and thence to fall.

It was too early, he knew, for growth. There was nothing in March but a loosening of winter. A loosening and a tightening and a loosening once more so that all of its days were restless with vague promises of movement that stirred the blood as vigorously as sap rising. The lake (all lakes, of course, but old Jasper thought simply of "the" lake, the one he had lived beside and known) was solid with ice yet, but there were spots along the hills and fields where snow,

soggy now and rotting, had shrunk back a hand's breadth here and there, disclosing last season's bleached stubble and grass thick as winter had found it.

Thus it would remain until some time in April when the thaw would set in and this, after the months of winter, was a blood-tingling sight to behold. It was a powerful thing, the thaw. Old as he was, old, sick, tired, finished, just the recollection of the thaw could somehow stir a memory of the years of being young with the sheer wonder of life pulsing raw and quick within him.

It was a boundless thing. A breathless breaking from bondage that could in no way be held back, that in its days of rushing water and drying wind and fertile land spread waiting in the sunshine, had conjured in his consciousness an understanding of the ancient writer of Solomon's Song. *For lo, the winter is past, the rain is over and gone; the flowers appear on the earth; the time of the singing of birds is come.*

And still these were waiting days for the icebound lake. Waiting, watching, feeling within its depths (as the land freed itself) the beginnings of its own freedom that were as yet invisible to eyes watchful on the shore. He had seen it that way through every April for decades. He had stood on the sand among winter's litter of branches, rock and driftwood, and heard the eerie whisper, whisper, whisper, of ice crystals along the shore and seen the frozen blue-green chunks piled high along the point, pushed hard against the rock. Had walked out to the point to see it piled there, through wood paths that were easy walking because only the barrenness of April reigned where later he would find tangled, witless growth. Had walked thus — how often? — and seen the crocus blooming thickly blue along the hills, heedless of wind in their small fur cups, or bending low beneath a wet burden of snow, but blooming still.

The ice was a strange thing. For more than fifty springs he had watched it and yet each spring seemed new. Always it went slowly and with a great show of reluctance, granting most grudging freedom to the spreading water widening its radius from shore to lake centre where the soggy, rotten mass of it shifted restlessly with the wind. Sometimes it moved. Sometimes, of a morning, the bay was clear of

it, sparkling, clear and iceless in the spring sun, but he knew this for a ruse. It was a game played by April winds, this driving of the soggy broken pack along the shore line, beyond the bend and out of sight, until with the whim of another night's frivolity, it would be driven back again. But at last, truly, would come a morning when its long grey shadow was gone. And on that morning he would know that spring had come.

Lying, as he was, on his back and confined by the narrowness of the stretcher's quarters and the oppressive box-like interior of the ambulance, hearing only the motor sounds of its engine and the swift onrush and passing of approaching vehicles, old Jasper could still remember spring. Not just the smell of it (what child is not acquainted with the smell of spring?) but the feel of it in the land beneath his feet, and the taste of it in the air he breasted across the hills that skirted his fields.

Green, he thought, was the colour of spring, as gold was the colour of autumn. Across the hills the trees were brazen with it. Long before it was really there he could see it, a promise of colour like a phantom shadow hovering over the bush and taking substance hour by hour, so that he was never quite certain of the moment it became, actually, visible. There was just, of a sudden, a greenness there, as though it was no longer possible for tree or bush or shrub to contain for a second's space of light and heat and air the life within itself.

He would walk in those days through his fields being readied for seed, and he would see, on some, the rich black earth turned in huge furrows beneath the plough blades, eager for the warmth of May sun, and he would observe, on others, the land as yet unbroken, its last year's stubble crop bleached white against the earth, patient, waiting. There was a certain spot along the hillside, sheltered, windless, where he would sit warmly on the coolest of days on the thick dry grass of another season and look to his fields so soon to quicken with cucumbers, potatoes and corn, and beyond the fields the lake, and beyond the lake the sky, and in him would rise the hope of a new season, a challenge, and a promise.

And in addition to all this, he remembered the sounds of spring. The harmonious discord of birds chattering ceaselessly through maple

and poplar and in and out of the bright blue bird house he himself had painted and placed on its windy perch. The jubilant notes of meadow larks and robins, the crazy laughter of loons, the crying of killdeer, the screaming of gulls in the wind. The bawling of new calves running the hillsides with the herd. The throb and beat of the farm machinery as his engines did their work. He had stopped and listened often, and it was as though he heard the pulse of spring.

Growth, old Jasper thought, was relentless as the passing of time. He could watch it, wait for it, foretell its arrival and yet, for him, its miracle was endless. The trees, overnight, were heavily in leaf. The saskatoon bushes in bloom. The wheat showed nicely green on his neighbours' lands and in his fields the onions thrust up rows of fine, thin spears, the cabbage plants grew sturdy, and wild sweet peas yellowed the hillsides where crocuses had ceased to bloom.

By mid-June his onions were ready for finger-weeding and all must be done on hands and knees, crawling laboriously along each row in the hot June sun. In latter years, of course, he had not done this himself, but still he could remember the doing of it, the feel of heat trapped beneath the coarse shirting on his back, the rank wild smell of the onions.

And in the hot days of drouth he would rig his irrigation pipes for action, setting them to work for him through measured periods of time, stretched patiently along the rows of vegetables. Four hours to a field, the water spraying brilliantly across his acres beneath a rainbow blaze of colour, and then he must dismantle and move and set them up again, for each field was thirsty, dry, and waiting.

He was so busy then with the rush of growth, the coming of maturity, that hardly could he be conscious of the summer days and weeks that came to pass. But he remembered them now, imprisoned on his stretcher bed, in a throb of feeling that was colour, passion, anguish. So full were the days of summer! The blue and gold days of summer, the wild and wind-swept days of summer, the trees panting with summer heat, and sand, hot as coals, beneath his feet along the shore. Cabbages grown to full head, and cauliflower, and saskatoon berries bulging purple-ripe along the borders of his fields. The feel of morning in his face. The sound of evening dropping over hills. The free, fast flight of wind.

The growth of his garden produce marked the season's progress. The day came when the new potatoes were ready for digging, and tomatoes hung gross and heavy on their vines. The corn was ripe, the cucumbers green and succulent, the carrots, beets and onions waiting for their harvest. From early morning until dusk his fields were alive with those who came to buy the fruits of his labour, picking and packing it, crowding it into their pails and sacks and boxes, heaping it up to overflowing and coming with it, finally, to the heavy scale he kept for weighing. Day after day, week after week passed thus, until, breathless with the rush and sweat and wonder of morning, noon and evening, the summer days were gone. October had come.

Old Jasper stirred restlessly beneath the warmth of blankets, conscious of pain now grimly stalking behind the loosening edges of the drugs. They would soon be there. Journey's end. He closed his eyes, the wrinkled lids falling silently in place, and in repose the contours of his face already had taken on that peculiar sharpness of outline that characterizes death.

He had never, finally, believed in death. With his mind — yes. But with his emotions, his lovings and hatings, his anticipations and fears, his hopes and dreads — no. Yet he could recall October and know it as a gateway to winter from which there was in the end no escaping.

His fields were bare in October. The shells of empty cabbage plants flapped untidily in their places, potato culls lay in rows along the barren earth and in the corn fields empty stalks whispered huskily in the wind. Across his cucumber fields the frozen vines shrank back against the land revealing the huge fruit, turned overripe and orange, themselves frozen in the early morning foretastes of winter. And still his land was beautiful. Nostalgically beautiful with the march of trees across the crest of hills, so unbelievably yellow in contrast to the unbelievable blue that was October sky.

The water was blue too. Green in spring, he recalled, and alternating in summer as mood and weather dictated — grey, grey-green, or greenish-blue when summer chose to smile — but now, blue. Restless and knowledgeable. For already early morning found icicles

suspended from his pier and soon crystals would form wafer-thin along the shore line, a forerunner of ice to come.

Within a week, two weeks, the trees were leafless, their naked fingers outlined on the sky with only a cluster of scarlet and gold left clinging stubbornly in low spots on the hills, and he would walk beside his fields and up the hill to the sheltered spot where there was warmth even on cool days, and there he could watch his horses grazing in the dry brown grass, raising their heads to a sharpness in the wind, and there he could feel around him the phantom approach of winter for no bird or cricket, no bee or butterfly, no single caterpillar remained to speak to him of life.

Winter was long on the land. Often he would stand and look across the lake when all within his vision seemed a nothingness, endless and still, and he would wonder at the incredible sights explorers of the vast barren lands to the north had witnessed, travelling an immense and icy waste, hushed and frozen.

Yet he had never despaired of winter. It was an in-between time, nothing more. A time between autumn and spring, harvest and planting, death and life.

He could hear now, in addition to the sounds of the ambulance and the passing roar of innumerable vehicles, the discordant sounds of the city. They had arrived then. They had reached the vast new hospital that housed this clinic that would do what it could for him, and knowing there was nothing anyone could do, he was still aware that this final effort must be made, was even grateful for the lengths to which human caring and effort would go before finally assigning a life to eternity.

Fiercely he fought back pain, advancing now quite openly, naked, armed and sure, for there were still left to him the moments of being transferred from the back of the ambulance to the hospital's emergency entrance and for these he was determined to be aware. For in them he would smell March once more. It was a little thing, perhaps. But there was so little left him now. And the unexpected smell of March had brought him renewed faith. Winter was all but done. Spring was waiting. And he, Jasper Holler, figuratively speaking, had his boots on, ready to go.

The ambulance boys spoke of him sometimes when they lit their cigarettes and drank their coffee and talked. They said it was too bad about old man Holler and that it was a shame they'd had to move him. There were things, of course, that the ambulance boys didn't know.

The Campaign For Nuclear Disarmament

by

J. A. STEELE

Does the growing support in Britain for a policy of unilateral nuclear disarmament mark a significant breakdown in the "cold war mentality"? A young Canadian here discusses "the most active mass movement in the United Kingdom at the present time".

THE existence and effectiveness of military power depends to a large extent on the ability of a government to persuade its people, whether justifiably or not, that war (or defence) is an evil necessity. The methods of achieving this end are simple and well known. Using the various means of mass communication at its disposal, the state must create a stereotyped image of an enemy so evil that onto him individuals may easily project their hostile and aggressive feelings. Good and evil are therefore seen in the black and white categories typical of fairy tales, comic books, western movies and the Apocalypse. The enemy is usually portrayed as brutal, servile and heathen, in sharp contrast to the strong, free, and God-fearing hero at home.

If war propaganda is effective, it will have the following results. Out of fear of conquest or death, society recoils, closes its ranks, and follows the leader. In the interests of cooperation, the individual suspends personal judgment and carries out orders. The cause which he serves demands personal sacrifice, of course, and this may be as small as increased taxation — or as great as life itself. By thus identifying himself through submission and sacrifice to the collective strength of his society, the individual gains the enormous courage necessary to shoot, spy, bomb, and carry out the many distasteful acts of war. When war propaganda reaches a point of extreme effectiveness, it may create a paranoid state of mind characterized by delusions both of persecution and of grandeur.

Whether or not the cold warriors of our time are really paranoid, as some observers believe them to be, is not ultimately important,

although such a theory might partially account for a number of international fiascos such as the failure of the summit conference last spring. Both Mr. Eisenhower and Mr. Khrushchev, it could be argued, came to Paris with exaggerated fears of national insecurity and with illusions of grandeur so great that whereas the one could not apologize for an obvious misdemeanor, the other could not forego such an apology for the sake of something infinitely more precious. Ultimately important is the fact that both sides are acting *as if* they were insane — and with the same results.

Peoples on both sides of the Iron Curtain have accepted the rationale of the cold war, and such is the docility even among the intelligentsia that some individuals argue seriously that scientists, and others too, have no right to pass personal judgment on their work when it concerns collective security. The success of cold war propaganda is all the more remarkable for the extraordinary demand which it makes on the individual: his consent to die, if necessary, in a universally suicidal war. Only rarely has the cold war mentality broken down as dramatically as it did last year in Japan. The success of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament is the measure of its breakdown in Britain.

Before the Campaign was officially organized in January 1958, there had been much private disagreement with Britain's nuclear defence policy and much concern, especially among scientists, about the harmful effects of radioactive fallout. When sponsors of the Campaign announced its formation for the purpose of urging the British Government to adopt a policy of unilateral nuclear disarmament, the Campaign received a warm public response. Four large simultaneous meetings in London were followed by enthusiastic crowded meetings in the provinces, where regional and local branches of the Campaign were soon organized. With this robust beginning, the Campaign has expanded to become the most active mass movement in the United Kingdom at the present time. The signs of its growth are clear. Local groups have been forming spontaneously all over the country at the rate of three each week. Last year there were two hundred and fifty such groups; now there are nearly five hundred. A public opinion survey carried out last June indicated that one-third of the British

population was in sympathy with the aims of the Campaign, although more recent surveys indicate that support has fallen to one-fifth. Last Easter the Campaign organized what was generally described as the largest political demonstration to occur in England so far this century. Approximately 75,000 people gathered in Trafalgar Square on Easter Monday, and many of them had walked the fifty miles from Aldermaston (an atomic weapons research establishment) to London in a line which sometimes extended for more than five miles. In the international group ten Canadians began the march, and by the end their number had grown to sixty.

The Campaign, or CND as it is known in Britain, has worked with less success in the international field. To coordinate the efforts of similar movements in other countries, CND called a conference in January 1959 which resulted in the formation of the European Federation for Nuclear Disarmament. In France, Italy, Belgium, Denmark, Norway and Austria, the support for this Federation is weak, or at the most, just beginning. In Sweden, Switzerland, Eire and Holland, support is stronger. The Dutch movement, incidentally, is endorsed by a Roman Catholic cardinal. The Federation has also among its numbers two West German movements, one of them sponsored by the Social Democratic Party. There can be no doubt, however, that the British Campaign is by far the strongest and most active member of the Federation.

The main activities of CND fall into two categories: scientific and political. Although numerous scientists worked closely with the Campaign from its inception, their contribution was placed on a more formal basis in September 1959. A Scientists' Group was organized, of which the provisional officers were Professor N. Kemmer, F.R.S. (Chairman), and Dr. A. Pirie (Secretary). This group provides CND with expert technical advice on such subjects as fallout, civil defence, control of tests, the effects of nuclear war, relevant aspects of general disarmament, and the civilian uses of nuclear energy. Under the general editorship of Dr. Pirie, the Scientists' Group publishes a bulletin ("CND Scientists") containing abstracts of pertinent scientific information as it becomes available.

The main activity of CND, however, is rhetorical — the changing of public opinion. The headquarters for this activity is CND's national

office in London, where a small voluntary staff led by CND's Organizing Secretary, Mrs. Peggy Duff, deals with as many as two hundred enquiries each day. This office sponsors the publication of numerous leaflets and pamphlets, including its own four-page monthly bulletin. It organizes public meetings, conferences, and the annual Aldermaston march. Its biggest task is to coordinate the work of the regional and local groups which carry out the work of CND in the constituencies. Each local organization has a large degree of freedom in planning its programme. The executive of a typical group will meet every two or three weeks, and in the course of a year may organize the following activities: two public meetings, several study groups, a film show, a bazaar, a garden party, a vigil at the local cenotaph, delegations to the Civil Defence Organization and each parliamentary candidate, two or three small poster parades, door-to-door canvassing, and Saturday afternoon soap-box speakers at the shopping centre. The enthusiasm is enormous.

The shock troops of the movement are a small organization called "Direct Action", which, because it engages in civil disobedience, does not enjoy the official approval of CND. Members of "Direct Action" organize passive resistance demonstrations at rocket and bomber bases, and they spend much of their time in jail. It was they who first marched from Aldermaston to London, and more recently, attempted to enter the French Sahara testing ground. Their civil disobedience has been ineffectual, however, because the number of participants has been small: Ghandian tactics succeed only when demonstrations are so large that police are unable to cope. Such a demonstration may occur in England within the next year; apparently plans for it are now being laid. Bertrand Russell, who has recently resigned as President of CND and joined "Direct Action", and the Rev. Michael Scott are organizing a demonstration which will occur if, and only if, there are at least two thousand participants. Russell has been criticized here for not confining his expressions of dissent to the normal democratic channels. But Russell, who believes that the chances of a nuclear war occurring at some point in the future are fifty-fifty, asserts that civil disobedience is justified precisely because there may not be a "next election".

The effect of CND on the various political parties is difficult to assess. Certainly the Conservative government has modified its deterrent policy in the past year, but financial rather than political considerations were undoubtedly the determining factors. In the Liberal Party there are a number of unilateralists and there are others who advocate removing the British deterrent from land to sea bases, a scheme which is hardly in keeping with the desires of CND. In September 1960 the Liberal Party's annual conference defeated a motion calling for unilateral nuclear disarmament by six hundred and seven to seventy-eight with more than three hundred abstentions. The Communist Party, which refused to support the Campaign when it was still a small movement, supports it now — and for obvious reasons.

CND has had its greatest impact on the Labour Party, an impact which was not translated into official Labour Party policy until last October when a unilateralist resolution was passed by a small majority at the Party's annual conference. As Mr. Gaitskell and a majority of Labour M.P.'s are against unilateralism and appear unwilling to accept the decisions of the annual conference, civil war has broken out in the Party. Whether or not this discussion over defence policy will permanently split the Labour Party is an open question; but, in any event, it is quite probable now that by the time of the next general election there will be at least one national political group putting up candidates who support unilateralism. Then, for the first time the British electorate may have a chance to express itself politically on this subject — an opportunity which Canadians have had for some time.

With the exceptions of *Peace News* and the left wing weeklies, *Tribune* and the *New Statesman*, the British popular press is solidly in favour of the bomb. The news coverage of CND's activities, however, appears to have passed through three distinct phases. Before last year's Aldermaston march, reports of CND's activities were exceedingly rare and when they did occur they were usually ridiculing in tone. Then the Aldermaston march last Easter was given full, objective and often sympathetic coverage. (Some of the reports in Canadian newspapers which attempted to ridicule this march were

thus quite out of fashion as well as factually inaccurate.) The march was not, in fact, a jazz meeting or anything like it; on the contrary, about one person in four hundred carried a musical instrument. Nor is CND led by the political left, although about two-thirds of its followers are politically left of centre. Of CND's fifty-two sponsors, the first ten listed in alphabetical order are a fair indication of the political complexion of its leadership: John Arlott, Dame Peggy Ashcroft, Dr. Charlotte Auerbach, F.R.S., the Bishop of Birmingham, Lord Boyd Orr, F.R.S., John Braine, Benjamin Britten, C.H., Viscount Chaplin, Professor C. A. Coulson, F.R.S., Count Michael de la Bedoyere. But very soon after Aldermaston, reports of CND's activities practically ceased to appear in any of the national newspapers. Even a marathon march from Edinburgh to London with meetings in every large town or city along the way was not reported, although the existence of the march was one day politely acknowledged by *The Times* and its arrival in London was briefly described in one or two papers. Simultaneous with this silence, which can be regarded only as a silence of fear, the press has opened its columns to the public relations officers of the armed services and of the Civil Defence organization.

The spokesmen for CND try to defend rationally the aims of the movement on moral as well as military grounds. The moral argument is the simplest; it is also the most widely accepted in spite of its rather novel and usually unstated premise: that the survival of the human species is to be valued more than national glory — an idea foreign to most national anthems. According to the moral argument, massive nuclear retaliation in the event of war would be wrong for three reasons: in the first place, millions of innocent people would perish; secondly, if Britain were attacked with nuclear weapons, retaliation would not bring even the sweetness of revenge — that is, unless radioactive ghosts can taste revenge; thirdly, it would be better to give some people a chance of survival than to ensure that a large portion of mankind or possibly mankind as a species should perish. Some Christian apologists add that genocide is as intrinsically evil as suicide. Thus, those who regard nuclear warfare as essentially immoral, categorically deny world statesmen, regardless of their nation-

alist creed, the right to prepare to sacrifice the human species on the altar of power politics.

The military argument for unilateral nuclear disarmament differs radically from the moral one because it accepts the nationalistic premise of the official defence policy, i.e., that the defence of the British way of life is more important than anything else. The proponents of this argument (Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall in his remarkable book *Defence in a Nuclear Age* is the most astute of them) usually concede that both the official policy of relying on the deterrent and CND's policy have much to recommend them. Both policies have certain advantages, and both subject Britain to certain risks. The preferable defence policy must therefore be based on the wisest possible assessment of the alternative advantages and risks. In the Campaign's assessment of the problem, the following points are stressed.

The advantage of relying on the nuclear deterrent is that it preserves the British way of life by creating a stalemate through a balance of terror. But the risk involved here is annihilation in a nuclear war, which would make the massive deterrent a massive absurdity: such a war would end in the destruction of that which it sought to defend. As long as nuclear weapons are not used, the deterrent policy can be judged a success, and mutual fear is the guarantee of our safety. Nevertheless it is quite possible and not improbable that, in spite of mutual fear, nuclear weapons will be fired as a result of madness, technical error, or an originally small conflict of conventional arms. In responding to this argument, it is not enough to say that political leaders, whatever their party or country, will never be so foolish as to invite certain destruction. If the deterring power of the deterrent is to be credible, there can hardly be political control over its use. Britain would have a minimum of four minutes' warning of a surprise attack during which time she would have to get her rockets off the ground. As political consultation would therefore be impracticable, she must rely on the snap judgments of military personnel immediately involved, and on the sanity of every bomber crew which carries nuclear weapons as part of its baggage. Nor is it enough to say that chances of technical error are small. They are. But given even a

small chance of serious error, it is mathematically demonstrable that over an indefinite period of time, serious error will in fact occur.

Although a small conflict of conventional arms ought not to lead to nuclear war, the present NATO policy in Europe makes such a sequence of events probable. Owing to our inferior strength in conventional armaments, (for which, it is argued, we have only ourselves to blame), the West has threatened to use nuclear weapons against conventional arms. Last March General Norstadt was preparing, apparently, to go one step further in suggesting the formation of a fire brigade group (i.e. "a small self-contained force to deal swiftly with local incidents and prevent them from expanding") armed with tactical nuclear weapons. And that is playing with fire. Also, quite apart from the danger and the ethics inherent in such a policy, there are unfortunate political disadvantages. It is bound to estrange uncommitted world opinion and to create uneasiness even among our allies. No European likes to be told that if enemy tanks enter his city we will obliterate him and his city along with the tanks.

CND's policy of unilateral nuclear disarmament applies to Britain alone, of course, and the implementation of such a policy would not mean that Britain would or should shelter hypocritically underneath an American umbrella: she would have to take her chances as a neutral, non-nuclear, power. The whole point of following such a policy is that it would tend to isolate, polarize, and lessen the area and influence of the cold war, at least insofar as nuclear weapons were concerned. This logic holds true for Europe, however, just as it holds true for England, and therefore CND would have the British government stop supporting a nuclearly armed N.A.T.O.

Adoption of CND's programme would, no doubt, subject Britain to certain risks. As critics of the Campaign point out with a good deal of historical reminiscing, unilateral nuclear disarmament, by depriving Britain of the deterrent, might make nuclear war more likely to occur. This proposition assumes, however, that an aggressor could desire the results of the unilateral use of nuclear weapons: an uninhabitable radioactive wasteland, world condemnation, and a poisoned atmosphere. Does not the very destructiveness of nuclear weapons make the deterring power of the deterrent largely redundant

or superfluous, it is asked. God's warning to Eve to leave the apple alone would have been superfluous or redundant, too, had the apple been sour, wormy and radioactive, and had Eve had foreknowledge of that fact.

More sophisticated critics of the Campaign insist that CND's policy would at least expose Britain to occupation by a foreign nuclear power on the strength of an ultimatum with which Britain would have to comply or else suffer the same fate as Japan at the end of World War II. CND apologists concede that this is a very real risk, but point out that this risk has been taken with impunity by comparatively neutral countries such as India, Switzerland and Yugoslavia; and they assert that in any case the risk here is preferable to the risk of annihilation. If the worst should happen, most Englishmen would remain alive with the knowledge that political régimes are not ordinarily eternal institutions, and that most of the really important elements of our culture are by their very nature immune to political control. Certainly the British way of life would have a better chance of survival than if all Englishmen were dead.

The advantages of unilateral nuclear disarmament would, of course, be immense. Britain would virtually cease to be a target for nuclear attack. She would be in a strong position to urge minor powers such as Canada to refrain from acquiring unnecessary nuclear weapons. Vast quantities of human and material resources would be made available to create wealth at home and abroad. And most important, adoption of CND's policy would be an ideological triumph in a basically ideological war.

Although rational argument may account for the intellectual assent given to the aims of the Campaign, rational argument cannot account for CND's vitality, its fantastic growth, or even the Aldermaston marches which, in certain respects, are exuberant and glorious non-sequiturs. Nor can CND's success be attributed to its organization, which is a political anachronism. The movement issues no membership cards, collects no dues, and lacks the institutional discipline and the funds necessary for political success. Certainly the Campaign has a widespread emotional appeal because the issue involved is so vital, and, to some extent, endemic anti-American feeling has acted

as an emotional catalyst. But the surprising thing about the Campaign is that it has succeeded despite harsh opposition from nearly all the mass media and strong censure from most official circles.

This strange phenomenon, the gradual collapse of the cold war mentality in England and the simultaneous growth of CND lead one to suspect that cold war propaganda is not only failing but boomeranging — to induce precisely the opposite state of mind it was intended to create. Although the British armed services and the Campaign were both formed and are maintained out of fear, and although both groups use a similar vocabulary and are famous for their extraordinarily long marches, they have little else in common. In fact, in many respects the one group is the obverse reflection of the other. Both organizations have their stereotyped heroes and villains. But the heroes of the military establishment (the generals at Whitehall and the Pentagon) are the villains to CND, and the neutralist heroes of the Campaign seem almost as bad as the communists to the military establishment. Both groups demand and receive voluntary personal sacrifice for a cause greater than the individual for the sake of a defensive war on the one hand, and for peace on the other. Boasts of strength which exhilarate one group disgust the other. The military bravery of brinkmanship looks like the bravado of lunacy to CND; the "drama of the cold war" becomes a monstrous farce of folly. The obverse psychological similarity of the most enthusiastic apologists for both camps leads with some justification to accusations and counter accusations of madness. But at a time when the sanity of multilateral disarmament seems like a long lost dream, perhaps the madness of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament may act as a vaccination to prevent the spread of the madness of which it is a reflection.

The United Nations: Some Thoughts On Changing Perspectives

by

K. A. MACKIRDY

Delegates of most of the seventeen new member nations installed at the last session of the U.N. tend to see the world not in terms of "communists and capitalists but of haves and have-nots, of predatory whites and exploited coloured peoples". How fully do the spokesmen of the western world realize the implications of this fact?

FEW chapter headings have left such a lasting impression on me as has that with which the Indian historian, K. M. Panikkar, prefaced his discussion of the impact of the first World War on Asia in his *Asia and Western Dominance* — "The European Civil War and its Effects". Familiar objects assume a different appearance when viewed from a different perspective.

I recalled this chapter heading one day last autumn while sitting in my office in a large American state university, staring at a sheet of white paper in my typewriter. Mr. Khrushchev was still in New York, and was still relegating the World's Series results to secondary headlines. A charming young lady who identified herself as a journalism major and a staff member of the student daily paper had recently visited me. She had reminded me that the paper brings out a "Dimensions" issue once a week in which some important theme is explored in depth. Despite the fact that this university is enjoying the exhilaration which accompanies a successful football team our campus is a much more serious place than it was when I arrived three years ago. "Dimensions" is but one symptom of the change. I had approved of the efforts of the student editors to give their readers more serious fare, but now these editors were probing the depth of my approval. My visitor had informed me that a forthcoming issue would be devoted to the United Nations and asked me whether I

would contribute a short article. As I am a historian who is not an American citizen and have lived, taught, and visited in some un-American parts of the world she was sure that I could give my piece a different slant. She would be around in a week to pick up my work. And so I found myself in front of my typewriter.

What knowledge I had of the current proceedings of the U.N. had been gathered from reading the local press. How could my knowledge of a rather exotic variety of history be utilized? I am described as "the British Empire man" in our department. So strong even in these days of withdrawal is the American belief in the expansionist and assimilative powers of a certified British imperialist that I am expected to profess not only on all the history of all areas beyond the British Isles themselves where the Union Jack has flown at any date since 1783 but also to hold a watching brief on all of Africa south of the Sahara. The loose construction of the term "British Empire" just indicated was confirmed on my first visit to the university's law library where I found the statutes of the Republic of Liberia following those of the Leeward Islands in a stack bay labeled "English Colonies". Africa was a possible point of departure for my assignment. It was the Year of Africa in the United Nations. Sixteen of the seventeen new members installed in 1960 were African and the other, Cyprus, has African associations as even those whose historical memories extend no further back than the Suez misadventure of 1956 will confirm. Of course there also had been some discussion of trouble in the Congo during this Assembly.

The delegates of these new nations bring different perspectives of the type indicated by Sri Panikkar's choice of chapter title onto the floor of the General Assembly; and spokesmen of the western world, particularly those of the United States, have failed to realize the full implications of this fact. This was one of the most significant things to emerge from the fifteenth regular session of the General Assembly. It is well illustrated by the session's version of the perennial debate on the admission of Red China. Until the roll call, apparently, the delegation of the United States hoped that at least some of the new African members, particularly the conservative and outspokenly pro-western Nigerians headed by Prime Minister Alhaji Sir Abubakar

Tafawa Balewa, would support the American stand. They were disappointed. Most of the new countries abstained and Nigeria actually supported the other side. The Americans had overlooked important considerations. The Nigerian Prime Minister is likely to be as acutely aware as is Julius Nyerere of Tanganyika that in present day Africa it is politically inexpedient to be too closely identified with the western camp. To be hailed as a moderate and safe leader by Washington and London is as helpful an endorsement in African politics as would be a favourable testimonial by Mr. Khrushchev in American. Nyerere stated in an article appearing in the December 1959 issue of *Africa Special Report* that "moderate" is frequently taken in Africa to be but a gentler reproach than "stooge". There is also the more general factor. Africans see China from a vantage point different to that of Americans. Forgetting this basic fact, even influential people on this continent accuse the unfortunate Africans of having their sight distorted by Russian-made spectacles when they fail to discern serious blots on the Chinese escutcheon so readily apparent from America.

Consider the basic American case on the China issue. The points which convince the majority of Americans of its rectitude — that a nation which has waged war against the United Nations forces and continues aggression against a member nation, Nationalist China, does not deserve admission — has little impact on these erstwhile colonial folk. Just as Panikkar saw our Great War as a European civil war so it is possible for people today to feel detached from the current ideological struggle, though it is difficult to persuade an American of that fact. Of course the Americans see the China question not only in the terms of the cold war but, as the reference above to the Korean struggle indicates, in the more frustrating terms of a shooting war which bogged down into the unsatisfactory deadlocked armistice at Panmunjom. To a people whose popular school textbook version of the War of 1812 differs from the equally questionable version accepted north of the border, the Korean War is the only war in which the Americans participated which they did not win. The newly independent African states contributed neither men nor money to the United Nations Korean Force and thus feel no personal involvement in that affair. The China which they now see is a nation which, denied

technical assistance from the West since 1949, has overcome this handicap largely through its own efforts and now has achieved a sufficiently high level of technical competence to gain that form of respect, even from her enemies, which accompanies military strength. China's great leap forward, so they understand, promises a higher standard of living for her peoples in the future, something which all conscientious African leaders desire for their people. A formerly backward nation which has developed so rapidly that even now it can offer aid to new African nations such as Guinea is a non-western success story. Guinea's President Sekou Touré was speaking as an African, not merely as a Marxist, when he told the reporter of the New China News Agency, "The people of Africa have infinite sympathy, I will even say admiration, for the Chinese people whose efforts are followed here with enormous attention." To those who see the world in terms not of Communists and Capitalists but of haves (including all countries that can afford to dabble in space exploration) and have-nots, of predatory whites and exploited coloured peoples, Chinese achievement has a different look. The American argument doubtless has legal validity, but historically a nation's claim to respect in international circles has stemmed from its military prowess rather than from its peace-loving proclivities. Japan was admitted into the circle of fully civilized powers only after her display of military efficiency in the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95 and its confirmation in her defeat of Russia a decade later. Thus to non-Europeans the Chinese record in the Korean War can be seen as a patent to great power status, not a cause for disqualification from U.N. membership.

Whether they are conscious of it or not, few leaders of the new delegations can escape the racial bias suggested above. No one who has probed to any depth in Indian or African history can avoid being impressed by the impact in both these regions of the news of the Italian defeat by the Ethiopians at Adowa in 1896 (news which spread rapidly through India through the native press) and of the Japanese victories over the Russians in 1904-05. Years ago, before my interest in Indian history had reached the note-taking stage, I encountered an interesting story in the *Toronto Globe* of 1905 which I was reading in connection with a Canadian research project. It reported a trial in

London of an Indian seaman who, after years of exemplary service as a helmsman, found himself steering a British freighter which was passing the Russian Baltic fleet on its way to the disaster of Tsushima Straits. Seeing his opportunity to strike a blow for Asians he swung the wheel around in a quixotic attempt to ram a warship. He was overpowered and sent below to the brig, but he overcame his guards and returned to the wheelhouse for a second futile try. In his autobiography published in 1957 Kwame Nkrumah writes of his reaction to the news of the Italian invasion of Ethiopia in 1935. He had just arrived in England on his way to the United States to start his college education. Although his native Gold Coast was on the other side of Africa from Ethiopia and although he was at the time in the capital city of the country which was striving (albeit ineffectively) to restrain Mussolini by diplomatic means, he states that he felt that all London had declared war on him personally. He roamed the streets glaring at all the impassive passers-by. At this date he apparently had not yet experienced a personal insult stemming from racial prejudice such as he later encountered on his first trip below the Mason-Dixon line when he asked a white attendant at a Baltimore lunch counter for a glass of water and was shown a spittoon. He was shocked at this response but almost as harsh in its own way was that of the American Secretary of State to his address to the General Assembly on September 23rd, 1960 on the Congo issue. Dr. Nkrumah made predictable African points favouring the maintenance of a unitary government in the Congo, supporting Patrice Lumumba who is identified in many African minds with this policy, and urging the removal of white troops as a means of lessening racial tension. He also recommended the permanent reservation of seats in the Security Council for African, Asian, and Middle Eastern representative states. Such a programme hardly placed Ghana squarely in the Communist camp as Mr. Herter suggested. No one should question the latter's right to disagree with the views of an African statesman, but one can question the policy of calling names. There are now more than two sides to every United Nations' question. Those who strive to win friends and influence nations must make their case intelligible to those whom they are wooing. It is particularly unfortunate that in the third of the tele-

vision debates preceding the American presidential election the then Senator Kennedy cited Mr. Herter's charge not as an expression of opinion but as a statement of fact, thus giving it greater publicity.

Although Mr. Khrushchev admittedly has his own reasons for desiring the removal of Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld from the United Nations' scene, his suggestion that the office of secretary-general be replaced by a three-man committee staffed by representatives of the Eastern, Western, and neutralist blocs was a shrewd move. It drew attention to the present paucity of representation of the Afro-Asian nations in key positions within the organization. If we exclude from their number the Union of South Africa (for readily apparent reasons) there were but twelve African and Asian nations among fifty-one charter members of the U.N. Although two of these, Syria and Egypt, subsequently have merged into the United Arab Republic, nations from the two continents now provide forty-seven of the current membership of ninety-nine. By now conventions associated with the selection of candidates for the non-permanent seats in the Security Council and for other key bodies in the organization have become so formalized that new nations have difficulty in finding the type of featured rôle which helps reassure their own citizens of the reality of their new status as sovereign, independent nations. Canadians need not be reminded of their government's concern with status during the interwar period. Election of the Dominion to the Council of the League of Nations in 1927 was thus favourably received at home as a confirmation of status rather than as an opportunity to perform service. Canadians, having more recently emerged (it is to be hoped) from this stage of adolescent nationhood, should be more able than Americans to appreciate the new nations' concern with status. With the enlargement of the Commonwealth group in the United Nations from five (excluding Britain) in 1945 to ten, the Canadians also will experience some of the inconveniences indicated above. If the convention of reserving one of the non-permanent Security Council seats for a Commonwealth nation is retained and these nations continue to serve in alphabetical order the Canadian turn will come up once in twenty years (or longer as new Commonwealth nations are admitted) instead of once in ten as originally envisaged.

A possible rebuttal to the Afro-Asian claims for a greater share in United Nations leadership as made by President Nkrumah and later by President Touré is the old maxim that he who pays the piper should be permitted to call the tune. Although the United Nations abides by the doctrine of the equality of all sovereign nations in its acceptance of the principle of "one nation one vote" in the General Assembly, elsewhere it recognizes the truth of a point made by Lord Balfour's committee in 1926 in its definition of dominion status: "But the principles of equality and similarity appropriate to *status*, do not universally extend to function." Thus the assessment of membership dues is based on the member's supposed ability to pay. As many nations are notoriously lax in meeting their obligations, figures on actual payments would be even more revealing than are those of assessment, but the *United Nations Year Book* is discreetly silent on the former data. According to the table of assessments for the period 1959-61 appearing in the 1958 *Year Book*, four nations are held responsible for over sixty per cent of the organization's budget (U.S., 32.51; U.S.S.R., 13.62; U.K., 7.78; and France, 6.40). Of the remainder only Canada and China have assessments in excess of three per cent, the latter's being based on the outdated assumption that the member government is in control of its mainland provinces. Nine of the other eleven nations with assessments exceeding one per cent are either European or of European derivation and only two, India and Japan, are Asian. The fact that the wealth of the world is still so largely a monopoly of the white minority of the earth's population poses both opportunities and problems which have not as yet been fully probed within or without the United Nations. Historically within our western nations increasing democratization has resulted in the wealthy minority being levied an increasing ransom by the masses for permission to retain the residue of their goods. Can an analogy be drawn?

As will be shown later the Congo crisis has provided the new nations with an opportunity to render a form of service which was within their competence. This fact is one of the glimmers of hope discernible through the storm clouds which surrounded the meetings. Undoubtedly the most dramatic aspect of the session was the personal appearance on the rostrum of the General Assembly of so many heads

of government who, despite the urging to the contrary of the American State Department (if we are to believe press reports) followed Mr. Khrushchev's lead when that seasoned traveller decided that last autumn was a good time to visit New York. (Did he have advance knowledge that this was to be a good season for Pirates and a bad one for Yankees?) It is too early to assess the long-term results on the United Nations, on Dag Hammarskjöld, or on the latter's office, of the resulting conclave, but it is evident — and this is a point which deserves stress — that whether the individual leaders came to wreck, to amend, or to save the United Nations, all took the organization seriously. Few so honoured the League of Nations fifteen years after its birth.

Although the organization itself must assume some of the responsibility for the Congo crisis, the constant attacks upon the old colonial powers in the Trusteeship Council and in the Fourth (Trusteeship) Committee of the General Assembly undermining the position of these powers in all their possessions, the U.N.'s handling of the crisis to the time of the writing of this essay provides modest grounds for hope of the organization's survival and growth in prestige. It is one of the first of the major post-war crises to be handled largely through the framework of the United Nations. It will be remembered that only the opportune absence of Russia from the Security Council when the North Koreans invaded South Korea in 1950 permitted United Nations action at that time. The U.N. displayed vitality in subsequently providing machinery whereby the veto-free Assembly could be summoned to authorize action if in the future a veto in the Security Council promised to demobilize the organization when crisis threatened. Settlement of the troubles in Indo-China in 1954 was reached by a meeting of the great powers and Red China outside the framework of the U.N. although the organization gave the delegates its blessing and more material assistance in the use of its Geneva facilities. The Suez imbroglio of 1956 was precipitated by action of British and French governments who professed skepticism of the possibility of effective action within the United Nations. Canadian readers should be particularly aware of how this crisis was weathered by the creation of a special United Nations Emergency Force, staffed, commanded

and supplied by the middle powers, with Canadians, Indians and Yugoslavs being major contributors. The techniques which the U.N. had developed from experience in earlier crises were used to good effect in the Congo. The employment of troops from the middle powers in the new emergency force was curtailed by the exacerbation of racial passions, a fact to which the painful injuries to some unfortunate Canadian troopers bear testimony. As a result the armed forces of some small African nations, some of them previously untested, have during the early occupation been given trying assignments. According to press reports most of these troops, particularly the Ghanaian and the Ethiopian, rendered commendable service.

No teapot tempest such as that generated around President Nasser's objections to the Canadian decision to send the Queen's Own Rifles to Suez marred the Ghanaian experience. The featured story in the August 17th issue of *New Ghana*, in which the Congolese approval and outsiders' praise of the conduct of the Ghanaian servicemen is reported, is noteworthy. This approval from outsiders is obviously a source of considerable pride. The question arises, can a peace force supply that strange alchemy in the development of national self-esteem which in the past has required a successful military expedition? Can this experience provide for Ghana what the bloody sacrifices on Vimy Ridge accomplished for Canada?¹ At any rate a successful participation in such a United Nations project stimulates local self-esteem and also brings home to the people the fact that the United Nations is indeed the agent of the peoples of the world as well as of their governments. Ultimately the success or failure of the U.N. will depend upon its ability thus to get through to the people in all its member nations. The League failed, and atrophied.

This thought leads to sobering considerations. How successful has the United Nations been in getting through to the people of its host nation? Is the U.N. more than a tourist attraction in New York and a source of some change in television fare where the good guys

¹ The article was written before the enforced removal of the Ghanaian chargé d'affaires, Nathaniel Welbeck, from Léopoldville.

and the bad guys are as clearly identifiable as in the more common westerns? It is true that Richard Nixon, a shrewd politician, chose the chief American delegate to the U.N. as his running mate in the recent presidential election. But did he believe that the popular image of Henry Cabot Lodge was that of a dedicated exponent of collective security or that of the straight shooting sheriff leading the Western posse against the Eastern rustlers? The elected superintendent of education in a Pacific Coast state, also a shrewd observer of popular opinion, has considered it advisable to ban United Nations material from the state schools. In defending his actions in the Congo crisis against Russian attacks Dag Hammarskjold made the point that the preservation of the United Nations was of greater importance to the small nations than it was to the superpowers. From the time of the inception of the U.N., however, the support of the United States has been considered essential. Mr. Lodge's immediate successor as American Ambassador to the U.N., James Wadsworth, has hinted that the admission of Red China to membership might result in the withdrawal of the U.S. The nation which pays a third of the budget, like the boy who owns the football, wants the game played his way or he will go home. This form of diplomatic blackmail resulted in wholesale resignations from the League of Nations in the 1930's, but in the case of the League the peculiar problem associated with the choice of New York as the organization's headquarters did not arise. The problem of leaving the U.N. while being bound by international treaty to permit that organization to use facilities within the United States might temper American threats to pull out, but the threat remains tempting to a government as long as its constituents have little real interest in the international organization. When we couple the present inability of Westerners to appreciate the difference between their perspective on international problems and those of Asians and Africans, and the widespread popular indifference of Americans toward the real purposes of the U.N., an observer cannot but fear the possibility of a popular clamour for American withdrawal if American policy meets with a major check. The close vote on the China issue and the five-nation proposal for the

renewal of Russian-American negotiations revived the cry in the American press. The increasing voting power of the African and Asian nations brings the possibility of an American crisis in the U.N., and a U.N. crisis in America, ever closer.²

² Since the above article was written the United States delegation in the United Nations has achieved further pyrrhic victories without showing the perspicacity of Pyrrhus as to their significance. There have been other developments, however, which suggest that the closing paragraph was unduly pessimistic. President Kennedy's early appointment of G. Mennen Williams as Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs indicates that the new administration is aware of the growing importance of Africa on the international scene. The appointment of Adlai Stevenson as Ambassador to the United Nations can more truly be considered as an upgrading of the office than as a downgrading of the appointee. Last autumn a number of locally organized "Citizens for the United Nations" extended the appeal made in 1959 by a group in Urbana, Ill., for citizens to levy a voluntary tax of one per cent of their income on themselves to be sent to the United Nations. The sponsors were not a representative cross section of their communities but their appeal brought home to individuals their responsibility to maintain the U.N. It is a project that could well be extended to Canada.

Something For The Birds

by

F. A. JAMESON

FOR thirty-five happy years, Harry and Juliet Stone had fed the birds. It was their sole extravagance in an otherwise frugal life. They were a gentle couple, living quietly on the far southern tip of Long Beach Island, well removed from most of the civilized world and its troubles.

Every morning Harry would lumber out to the shed in the backyard, open its padlocked doors and dig into one of the barrels of feed with his aluminum scoop while Juliet sat in her rocking chair on the back porch and watched her husband spread the feed on the dry, naked sand. Overhead the first scouts from the bird sanctuary twenty miles to the north would begin their slow, descending spiral to the ground. Before he finished, there would be a hundred birds busily pecking around Harry's feet.

"Aren't they beautiful?" Juliet would say to him as he sat on the stairs by her feet.

"Yes, they are. I often wonder why the Lord didn't stop when He was ahead. He never made anything else as pretty as He made the birds."

They didn't talk much when they watched the birds. It seemed to be a sacrilege to speak with all that colour and beauty around them. There were birds of every hue and shape and size in their yard. They often wondered where so many birds came from, but they never tried to identify or classify them. That would make it too much like a science and ruin everything.

They were always very happy, until the year Juliet took ill and their doctor advised them to spend the winter down south, away from New Jersey's cold climate. The problem was to find someone to feed the birds while they were gone. Not many people lived on the island in the winter and out of the few that did, hardly anyone knew Harry and Juliet. For awhile, they were very worried and disturbed about the fate of their friends, the birds.

When Harry told Mr. Jonas, the storekeeper, about his problem the man suggested that for a price his son, Abel, would feed the birds.

"Abel, come up front here. I want you to talk to Mr. Stone for a minute."

The boy was around sixteen and tall and skinny. His face was ravaged by acne and his tiny, pin-point eyes drilled dully into Harry. He put out his hand in a gesture of forced politeness and Harry noticed the boy's fingernails were dirty and his flesh was soft and sweaty.

He told Abel what he wanted him to do and offered one hundred dollars for the four month service. The boy agreed because he wanted the money.

"Just go out there once a day and spread the feed around. There'll be lots of birds so be generous. If you run out of feed, your father will give you more."

So daily, young Abel pedaled his bike five miles down the only road on the island to Harry's and Juliet's house. And every day he would unlock the shed, spread the feed, watch the hungry birds for awhile and finally ride back home. But after a few weeks, he got bored and began to hate the long ride back and forth for the measly one hundred bucks he got. He gradually came to hate the birds and he thought the Stones were crazy. They had ten barrels with ten different kinds of bird feed in that shed. He was tortured by the winter cold and although it seldom snowed on the island, the icy winds would cause him to come home every day with red, bloodless ears and half-frozen hands and feet. He tried to stop going but his father forced him to keep his part of the bargain.

Early one Sunday morning, near the end of December, he noticed there were only a few birds around. Since there was no sense in wasting feed he only spread out half of what he usually gave. He wanted to get home quickly because the sky was overcast and it looked like rain. But when he walked back to his bike he saw his front tire was flat. Angrily he kicked over the bike and fell to repairing the tire. He worked furiously and when he was done his hands were all scratched and dirty.

"Damned birds," he muttered and turned to look at the cause of all his trouble.

They had multiplied a hundred-fold and were struggling greedily against each other, fighting to get some of the reduced feed ration. He had been so preoccupied with the bike that he had failed to notice the arrival of the multitudes. He settled on his bike seat and watched the spectacle with amazed enjoyment. A thin smile scarred his face and occasionally he howled with laughter at the plight of the hungry birds. They fought so viciously, just like people, he thought, exactly like scratching, screaming people. And to know that he had the power to stop or prolong or control their cravings gave him a good feeling.

He watched the flurry of feathers and listened with joy to the bedlam of strange cries filling the Stone's backyard. They fluttered in the air, beating their wings and scurried on the ground, pecking viciously at each other. The blur of colour was magnificent and the vivid hue of blood flashed on beaks and feathers.

Abel was so amused that he didn't reach home till well past noon. The next morning he was in a hurry to get out to the Stone's. All night long he had thought about his new power and he wanted to experiment with it. When he got to the house he put out less food than the day before and sat back and watched them fight savagely for it. The stupidity of the birds amused him and he wondered how much torture they would take.

From that day on he gradually reduced the amount of feed and every day he would happily watch the hundreds of birds who came for nothing. He had a sense of regal power for, when he walked towards the shed to dispense the meagre quantity of feed, the birds would herd themselves around his feet and humbly follow him. If he kicked them, and he usually did, they would not fly away in fear but would merely move a little to give him room then fall in behind him. To fly away would be to leave the source of life.

"Move, you stupid things, get off," he would yell at the birds perched on the shed. And they would move as if they understood him and they kept a respectful distance as he spread the feed. They

loved him for the little food he gave them and were grateful for the mean existence he granted them.

Finally he cut out the feed altogether and carefully watched their reactions. There was no more scurrying or fighting. Many hovered in the sky like a dark cloud and some perched on the shed and waited vainly. Others would land in the yard and wobble around pecking sadly at the bare sand, searching for food. They didn't understand and Abel thought he could see the puzzlement and frustration in their little eyes. He waited for them to leave, to finally realize there would be no food at all today. But they were still circling forlornly in the evening sky when he pedaled home.

He put no food out for the next ten days. He wanted to see how long it would take to break a thirty-five year old tradition. At first there was no change and hundreds of birds came daily and waited to be fed. But slowly their numbers began to decrease until finally on the morning of the eleventh day not even the scouts came.

Abel reveled in the perfect satisfaction reserved for gods. For three days he rode out to the house and watched the empty skies. On the fourth day he put out a full ration of feed. It remained untouched for over a week until one morning a lone bird settled on the sand and pecked at the feed. The next day there were fifty birds and by the end of the week they were all back.

He fed them well for awhile then cut out all the supply at once. Again the skies emptied but this time, whenever Abel came to look for birds he always saw one circling high in the sky, a tiny speck floating in lonely spirals, watching him.

Instead of putting out all the feed at once as he did before, this time Abel increased the supply gradually. But it went untouched. Each day he put more feed out and each day the number of birds in the sky increased but the food was never touched. Eventually the yard was covered with food but still the birds only circled.

It was a black, cold morning the day Abel went out to see if the feed had been eaten. The wind blew insanely from the north and the thick, gray clouds extended endlessly, out to sea. When he got to the house he saw the feed hadn't been touched and he couldn't understand it. The birds must have been starving, yet they didn't eat. He

looked up at the sky where a few scouts rode the wind. He waited watching the sky silently. More birds came and in an hour the sky was darkened by their numbers. They flew in slow, wide circles and some came down, perched on the shed and stared at Abel.

"Crazy birds," he muttered. "Crazy birds," he yelled and ran to the middle of the yard and looked up at the sky and screamed at them.

"What's the matter with you birds? Your rotten, stinking feed's here. Come down and eat it."

His shouts were angry, commanding sounds and the birds obeyed. They went down to eat.

That night it snowed for the first time in fifty years on Long Beach Island. It didn't cover much though. When Mr. Jonas and the constable got to the Stone's house the next morning, they easily found Abel's bicycle and shoes. But that was all.

SHADOWS

by

ARTHUR S. BOURINOT

Shadow of wings
on the ground, on the mere,
no sound
but the flicker,
who is quicker
flashing his cheer
through the wood?
And the frogs in the bogs,
and the birds,
and the birds,
full of words
to their mates;
and the hawk
soaring high
in the sky
casting fear
with his wings
with his wings
with his shadow
where he floats,
where he swings:

hold your breath,
hold your breath,
be still, be still!
Lest he plunge
lest he lunge
death's talons,
tearing bill,
sharp as knife,
ebbing breath,
ebbing life —

Shadow of wings,
shadow of death,
and the birds
and the birds
full of words,
full of words;
shadow of death
shadow of wings
be still, be still
hold your breath,
hold your breath!

LES BOUFFONS D'APRES-GUERRE:
TROIS SALTIMBANQUES

by

PETER DALE SCOTT

I

I, Pierrot's grandson, in this still
The best of all worlds possible,
A leper cheeky at survival,
Go mincing through the carnival
With a world at the end of my string
To wink at the nigger dancers. Yes
Each scab upon my moon-pocked face
Makes me one with the universe.
And Pierrot haunting me from birth
Without a mark, invisible
Cannot divide me from the earth.

II

I like to ride the carrousel
With the Sunday kids in the park
I like to stand at the skating rink
Till the crowds have skated over the brink
And it fills with stars, and it's dark.
Not needed at those mansions, where
Old parties as before
Reconstitute society
(And the jesters are a bore)
You will see my face in windows
Moving homeward with the crowd,
I am there where they are, bumping on,
Unbloodied but unbowed.
I like to cry when the children cry
And tell humanity that I
And all mankind are one.
And Pierrot's ghost moves jaunting on.

III

My face a battle-field
Of what I did not see,
All archetypies lost,
All prophecies agree
I am not very much
A millionth of the host
And who can now believe
The millionth is the most?

Authority has writ
That folly will suffice
It is my riddling heart
Which only disagrees
Beloved as I am
For my dishonesty
I cannot be deceived:
Too much a fool to play

I loiter where Pierrot hangs in the trees.

F O R M S

by

MILLEN BRAND

Upended on a wall, the flat stone
has on it three bands of red barn paint:
eyes and a crescent mouth.
Comedy entered the hands
that put this stone on end and painted it,
and comedy and a mask of sadness
haunt the unpainted ones too
with black holes of lichen eyes
and lips of creeper pointed up and down.
Here is a silhouette of dew,
there a heart where the indented stone
bleeds from the arrow, weed, and all
take form in the observer's gaze
according to his agony or ease.

THE CANADIAN CITY:

A SYMPOSIUM

Increasing urbanization has wrought vast changes in the Canadian scene in recent decades. Whether or not these changes have been for the better is still perhaps a matter for debate. All observers, however, are uncomfortably aware of the many problems created by the rapid growth of Canadian cities — problems which must be tackled now if there is to be any reasonable chance of solving them.

Now is certainly a time for stocktaking, and in the following pages we offer a number of assessments of the present state of urban development and renewal in Canada, together with some suggested approaches to such vexed questions as those connected with housing, transportation, and municipal government.

First, a general account of the situation as it now stands together with some hopes for the future are presented by Norman Pearson. Next, David W. Slater examines some of the economic reasons for the current state of affairs and indicates what he considers to be some desirable developments. Difficulties of urban government in times of expansion are treated by Stewart Fyfe, and problems connected with preserving older structures of architectural distinction by Patrick Horsbrugh. Some of the facets of the housing question are dealt with by Robert F. Legget, and Hans Blumenfeld explores the complexities of public transportation in the modern metropolis. Through an analysis of the daytime population of Winnipeg, Thomas R. Weir demonstrates the kind of detailed examination which provides the necessary data to those attempting to come to grips with urban problems. Finally, from the point of view of the planner, Peter Oberlander gives some concrete proposals for increasing the effectiveness of the cooperation of the various levels of government involved in urban development in Canada.

The Modern City And Society

by

NORMAN PEARSON

The Phenomenon of the City

THE city is at once the expression and the embodiment of civilization. Throughout recorded history it has been a centre of fascination and interest, a target for invective and moral strictures, and a phenomenon defying description. In our age the city challenges our civilization and our society — a society which concentrates the physical symbols of its failures and successes in the fabric of the urban scene. The urban environment — from the newest concert hall to the seediest slum — can be read as a reflection of the variety and complexity of the massing of all manner of men. If the city shelters the family, it also contains the lonely and the lost; if it produces the artist, it also condemns and destroys him; if it restores life, it also takes life; if it shows the dazzling achievements of the mind, it is also the place where the glazed eye and the numbed imagination succumb to the banalities of television and radio.

We make our cities either by design or default; and our cities make us, whether we realize it or not. If our society is infatuated with mechanical gadgets, then the civic design suffers in the neglect of the simple pleasures of walking, sitting in the park, or feeding pigeons. If our money goes to traffic facilities and schools, the absence of stable neighbourhoods and art galleries will signify this in the pattern of our lives. But though the response is unique, individual, the challenge is collective. The slum child may survive the knife, the name-calling and the deprivation, to know human dignity and be himself, or he may respond in hatred; the child from the class and income segregated suburbs may learn that life has a broad spectrum and an infinite variety, or he may be perpetually warped by the selectivity of his surroundings.

But whether we wish it or not, whether we can describe and define it or not, it is in the city that our civilization will grow; for the world trend is to urban life, and in North America it is to that

life (in huge sprawling cities which are now striking at our institutions and our boundaries) that our people are drawn, without choice and without much habit of city life to help them. For within the space of a generation the fabric of our cities has been cut and remade, and the result will be there despite the fear of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and despite the yearning for the small country town or the old compact city.

Planning as a Social Art

From the horrors of European industrialization in the nineteenth century there came the profession of planning as a social art. It dared not claim the precision of the sciences, for it could not lose the individuality and uniqueness of people and cities in statistical universes; but it could claim the land as a resource, not a commodity, and it could claim the city as the expression of human need and human achievement. The search for some fitting setting for urban man gives planning its thread of continuity while the social and technical upheaval intensifies. Other ages might plan for religious expression, military dominance, a specific social class, or a cosmic conception of civic splendour, but our age has no choice. It must plan for urban man whether he be clerk or poet, drunkard or sobersides, football fan or intellectual. It must plan for the decencies of civilized life without making a barren and sterile totality. It must plan for the posterity which will be its most severe critic and its unseen heir. And it must do this despite the reality of annihilation, the nostalgia for a shattered past, and the pressures of short-sighted and greedy men. Fumbling and uncertain, tinkering with a complexity only intuitively grasped, documented in mountains of unapplied literature, our age must now almost unwittingly lay the framework for centuries to come.

The Myths and Models

This task is one to which we come perhaps worse prepared than any other generation. In past ages it was the dream of great men to found cities and to remould according to greater visions those which existed (as well as to burn and destroy). They did so with an image of the great city in mind, and the cities they created had time to settle and mature. We have come within a lifetime from agriculture to

urbanism; in our present generation we not only make instruments able to vaporize a whole lifetime of city growth in an instant, we also produce vast unnamed metropolises as our old centres sprawl and join and become new entities. But the cities we found are small, scarcely an element of the vast metropolitan centres; and there is no collective image of the great city. Yet this is the age in which the city of a million men will soon be a commonplace. What popular myths have been at work?

First, the myth of suburbia as a way of life somehow independent of the city as a whole. In pursuing this objective we have almost (but not quite) made the single-family house the only possible structure; we have shattered the old concept of neighbourhood and community. We have brought into the urban areas the attitudes of the frontier and the advertising lies: the idea that we can despoil an area and move on, that a house is impermanent; the idea that cities, like people, can "trade-in" their used up land for new, that the sprawl can continue indefinitely. Somewhere, somehow there will always be more countryside, more water, more air, more trees. What we have done in fact is to build the vast areas of low-density slums which will plague our children, to shatter the orderly and natural growth of services and facilities, to impoverish the experiences and environment of the most important generation of children in our history. The myth of house-ownership has brought fresh air and greenery to children, but it has isolated whole strata and segments of society. It has provided room and shelter but it has sacrificed the quality of the locality to the quantities of production.

Second, we have allowed a gadget to become a way of life. The motor car has given us mobility, but that mobility has become an end in itself. To achieve it we have allowed old neighbourhoods to be destroyed by the movement and storage of vehicles. The motor car has insulated and isolated individuals, has made our police slaves of parking meters and belittled their guardianship in the eyes of man. It has made us forget to walk, and it has forced us to cast aside the old image of the city for an elusive world of brand new subdivisions and bright new gadgets, endless throughways and identical shoddiness in our thoroughfares and our countrysides. It has torn great holes in

our city centres and permanently changed our way of life. What began as a luxury has become a necessity.

Third, we have imagined cities could exist within their old confines and with the same forms of organization that the market town and the colonial settlements found adequate for whole lifetimes. We have not thought of what form the new city centres might take because we left the process to take care of itself. In the name of our constitutional liberties we have let unco-ordinated agencies which were named for the public interest compete and conflict until their lack of relationship leads planners to speak of the "cobweb curtain". While other nations refined and developed their concepts of city building and city governing we, in the Great Depression, scrapped all our machinery of urban planning and were then horrified and surprised at the mess which resulted. We have let the land boom and the arguments about the rights of private landowners confuse us into making land-use planning trail behind the development instead of accepting the scope and pace of growth and taking bold steps to guide all to the common good.

Fourth, we have been concerned with individual economic satisfaction rather than our general level of taste and appreciation. We have made the appeal to mediocrity rather than to excellence; and in so doing we have underestimated our capacity for response. There was no need for the spread of mean houses, when the public's unexpressed desires could have brought forth areas of great beauty and vitality. There was no need to pretend we had no slums, to ignore the gaps in our housing stock, to tear down the trees in raw land, to pollute the waters and poison the air.

Finally, we have been dominated by the image of "organization man". We have managed to ignore our landscape; we have sunk regional differences in arguments about split-levels or ranch-styles; we have failed to respond to climate, culture, historical accident and local topography. We have, as a generation, with determination and fierce energy devoted ourselves to beginning again. With the bulldozers we have obliterated landscape; with the wrecking machines we have destroyed our links with the past; with our advertising and our mass media we have pretended that all men are the same, with

restricted vocabulary, poor taste, insatiable appetites and an inability to detect deception and false gods. We have gone far towards losing the distinctiveness of Canada; and our surroundings in our cities, those junkyards of real estate, do not do justice to the excellence of our people. We have used the excuse that this is a young country to cover all manner of feebleness and foolishness. This last myth is perhaps the worst of all.

The Response to the Challenge

Where these conditions have not applied, it has been because of a rejection of the myths and a response to the challenge. Where this society has accepted the gifts of the horn of plenty willingly and critically, there has been a significant advance.

If each man is to enjoy the privilege of an emperor, and drive himself about in his chariot, then he must be treated accordingly. There must be imperial routes and grand conjunctions, and palatial garages where the chariots converge. Where many emperors cannot take their chariots, then no man shall drive; and each man may be a king in walking among his fellows, well clothed and well fed, able to buy in comfort and delight.

If each man is to be rich in money and in leisure, there must be goods of quality and places of attractiveness and good service; if man is rich in spare time there must be ample opportunity for recreation, for meeting and entertainment, for relaxation and for quiet contemplation as well.

Within these principles, this acceptance of the potentialities of our economic system, as well as of the demands for social justice and private profit, we may see how our cities can be an effective setting for our people. It is not, for example, a question of whether we have rapid transit or the automobile — we need both. It is not a question of whether we are to have metropolitan government or not — it is a question of what sort of metropolitan government we need and how it shall be administered. It is not an issue whether or not there shall be regional planning; it is rather a question of what sort of regional planning, what regions there shall be and what the plans should contain.

Within a decade or two we shall have set the urban scene for many generations. The problems are those of timing, of choice, of quality. How quickly can we stop water pollution and the poisoning of our air? How shall we step up the general density of urban development? How quickly can we get the parkland so urgently needed for our urban population? How can we stave off the deterioration of our old neighbourhoods and prevent the decline of our new ones? The imperatives of human need have narrowed our avenues of endeavour; but the promise of our economy assures us that given the answers to these questions of timing, choice, and quality, we can readily stop the deterioration in our urban environment and produce a modern city suited to a humane society.

We can use the motor car and the highway as instruments of change; the location of new routes and new interchanges will give us the pattern of urban growth. The bold acquisition now of the urban greenbelts and parklands, the allocation of river, ravine and lake lands and the preservation of woods would, in conjunction with the motorways, define the form and extent of our great cities. It is with an eye to these characteristics, together with the ability to service land, that our units of government must be formed in urban areas. The protection now of significant historical structures would give some guarantee that new housing areas and remade city centres would have a chance to display variety and remind us we are part of humanity.

But these are only the needs of crisis. In the long term, we must take steps to restore the whole social art of civic design to a high place in our system of values. What steps do we now take to make our children appreciate the distinctiveness of their locality, the unique quality of their companions, the significance of landscape and the distinctiveness of Canada, or Quebec, or Pincher Creek? What steps do we take to let our people partake of the richness of civilization, so that they may know what cities are for and find in them the means to live the good life?

The planner is the servant of society: the society which has no feeling for civic design, for the subtleties of scale and texture and for the grand sweep of noble projects, the society which has no sense of historical perspective and no tradition of landscape design, may fumble and lose forever the chance to create civilized cities.

How strange that unemployment, the threat of atomic war, the fear of unions and the criticism of foreign investment can become more significant issues than the cardinal question of the sort of surroundings in which we live, and the kind of heritage we will pass on to our successors.

Are we building for a thousand years or for the period of a mortgage? Are we keeping parks in our cities for the unborn or are we liable to let them go the way of the historic buildings and the architectural gems, to be marked by a plaque saying "Here in 1960 there was a park"? Are we more concerned with television and football and the cost-of-living index than with the fact that the elm disease is turning our street into a dying neighbourhood, or that the trucks pounding by will bring the industrial zoning no one had the courage to place in the area decades ago?

The Society

Perhaps then the planner cannot make his best contribution until our society decides whether or not it is worth while having an entity called Canada, and decides what kind of entity that Canada shall be. Technically, all things are possible. The town planner has images of the city of millions of men; but the curious phenomenon of "cultural lag" seems to prevent us from seeing our cities as a whole, from crystallizing in them the form which will express our faith in our achievements and the dignity and quality of our people. There are signs of change. In the proposed Toronto City Hall, there is a dramatic portent of the city and the society. In the new concert halls and art galleries and in the engineering enterprises of the Seaway; in the scale and controlled fierceness of the atomic reactors at Chalk River; in the appearance of metropolitan government in Toronto and Montreal and Winnipeg; in the critical appraisal of our residential neighbourhoods by the architectural profession; in the redevelopment and renewal schemes across the country; in the appearance of new motorways and Toronto's subway; in the way that conservation is suddenly news in the popular magazines — in these things are the keys to a movement and a popular drive for better lives that may yet propel Canadian urbanism to the forefront.

It is vital that Canada in this generation learn to build good cities for the good life. We stand at a rare moment in history. In a society potentially rich, hardly prepared by any of our background for the task, with an upsurge of population and the possibility of widespread wealth and widespread leisure; in a landscape rich and varied, full of drama and vitality; in cities shaken by growth and by past ages of poverty and meanness; in a world where the mass of humanity watches our actions and yearns to share such fortune; we are plagued by inadequacies of institution and surrounded by the atmosphere of the dreams of those for whom this is always a new land and another chance. Perhaps we may yet turn our distinctiveness into distinction. It is not yet too late.

The Political Economy Of Urban Changes In Canada

by

DAVID W. SLATER

TWO strands run through many of the current discussions of cities in Canada. First, there is a suspicion that Canadians face urban problems on a scale and with an intensity that are quite different from their past experience. Second, it is often suggested that the existing mechanisms and institutions for "city-building" are grossly unsuited to the task: in particular many observers argue that governments must play a much stronger rôle in urban development in the future than they do now. This essay is mainly concerned with the broad questions of the appropriate rôles of the state and of private economic arrangements in "city-building".

Around almost every point of public policy regarding cities, there is haziness and uncertainty at the moment. No simple clear consensus exists regarding answers to such questions as those which follow. Should urban transportation be arranged by road or rail; by governmental or private means; on a self-sustaining or a subsidized basis; above, on or below ground; subject to what system of pricing? What are the jobs of urban redevelopment? Should these be carried out by private market arrangements or by public authorities or by mixed private-governmental arrangements? Should the dirty crowded tenement-housing and shantytowns which are associated with poverty be dealt with directly through public activities in housing, or should the poverty problem itself be tackled? Complaints are heard about the monotony and the inefficiency associated with the new mass subdivisions which sprawl around older cities. Are the existing arrangements for developing land and housing in Canada incapable of producing attractive, economical and socially effective housing arrangements, except for the upper middle class and the rich? Does the solution lie in governments becoming the developers of land and perhaps the builders and owners of housing for a large fraction of the population? If the latter, are subsidies required? Given the long tradition of private

property rights, how are we to preserve some elements of greenery around our cities? Should green belts be developed? The list could be expanded almost indefinitely.

The intention in this essay is not to deal with specific questions of public policy regarding cities; rather it is to examine the broad mechanisms and institutions that have been used to deal with urban growth and change. The search is for a general framework within which specific matters may be examined.

I

THE MARKET PLACE AS THE PRINCIPAL CITY-BUILDING MECHANISM

On this continent the development and use of urban land has been (and still is) mainly carried out by a decentralized private market organization rather than by governments. The "use of urban land" refers to the original conversion from a rural to an urban lot basis; to the building, owning, and financing, of housing and commercial and industrial establishments; to the changes in the uses of structures and the land on which they stand, and so on. Historically the state, mainly through local governments, has provided a minimum of public services, such as fire and police protection and public schools: also the governments traditionally have organized a modicum of social facilities in the form of streets, and for water and sewage disposal; these form the spine of the city. In principle the provision of or the approval of standards for such services provided a potential basis for shaping cities and for the regulation of private activities by the state, but more often than not such potential regulatory powers were not used in North America. Indeed a common story was of the powers of municipalities to provide and finance such social capital facilities becoming subservient to the interests of the real estate developer. Essentially then, a man could do almost anything he pleased with his private urban property. Large old homes could be converted into crowded rooming-houses; residences could be made into stores or factories; pieces of raw land of varying dimensions could be sold without the approval of any authority; a house or store could be built in almost any way and in almost any position on a lot,

irrespective of what else had been built in the area. In fact, if not in law, an almost unbridled laissez-faire system characterized urban land use on this continent at least until the 1920's.

Real or alleged deficiencies in this approach were adduced a long time ago. In statements that are hauntingly like those of 1960, Al Smith in the Presidential campaign of 1928 pointed to American cities as one of the main problems that American capitalism had not dealt with successfully. Coleman Woodbury, who is now almost a senior statesman of American urban analysts wrote in 1929:

For a long time, the brilliant advances in technical and scientific skill which have transformed city life blinded most observers to the avoidable wastes and losses which are now quite apparent to even a casual student of urban development. *Laissez-faire policy can properly be charged with a large part of the enormous toll* which congestion takes daily from business and industry, the disproportioning of urban areas among residential, commercial and manufacturing uses, the inadequacy of parks and playgrounds, the losses resulting from excessive shifting of districts from placing incompatible uses next to one another, the unwise speculation in urban sites which costs the families of small means millions of dollars annually, and the absence of amenities from the greater part of the residential section of cities — all features of urban conditions of the present.¹

Limitations on the Job of the Market

The shortcomings of an unregulated private market mechanism for organizing activities in cities are considered later, but it should be recognized that the job to be done was a limited one, and that the system worked tolerably well in some respects and circumstances. First, many of the features of our cities are but a reflection of the general characteristics of our society; a laissez-faire approach to the organization of urban activities cannot be held responsible for such general characteristics. Our society generates and sustains considerable inequalities in the distribution of wealth and income; also our society holds the value of considerable freedom for the individual to use his wealth as he wishes. These two features are fundamental to the gradations of housing and land use in cities. He who can and

¹ Coleman Woodbury, "Some Suggested Changes in the Control of Urban Development", *Journal of Land and Public Utility Economics*, August, 1929, p. 249.

will pay, gets; he who cannot or will not, does not. If the private market place spills out vast differences in the urban environment for the rich and for the poor, this is not a critique in itself of the real estate market nor of the activities of local government. If our society wants to alter fundamentally the inequalities of the urban environment, only a basic alteration in the distribution of wealth or income will do the job. Second, there is an element of "big brotherhood" in many of the critiques of the market. People choose more automobiles and less housing, more liquor and tobacco and women and less parks and art centres and skating rinks, more expensive food and poor sewage disposal plants. And the urban market place and governments respond to these choices. Critiques of private choices and efforts to lead people toward improvement in their private choices and in their collective decisions are very useful in our society. But many of the social criticisms of the market places go beyond these — to the point that the critic is really arguing that he knows better than the people what the people ought to have.

Third, our cities are compared with the grand avenues of Paris or modern Rome or the gorgeous parts of Rio de Janeiro or the exciting new capital city Brasilia. The implication is that we have nothing comparable in the way of city-building of lasting worth and beauty. While there are many ugly features of our cities and while much of our city-building is of only transitory historic interest, it should be remembered that it is not all this way. Some of the great parks in American and Canadian cities were put together by the efforts of private and governmental leadership in days when *laissez-faire* was even more rampant than now. All over Canada one can find mixtures of good and bad city-building — good high schools and bad ones, good public libraries and bad ones, surprisingly good art centres and horrors, fine transportation arrangements and poor ones, exquisite buildings and monstrosities. Individual efforts of leadership have made the difference. The classic city beauties of Paris and Rome, Rio and Brasilia and many of the beautiful old middle Atlantic towns in the United States are the products of autocratic or feudal or aristocratic societies.

The Economics of Urban Land Use

The theory of the market place as an organizer of city activities is fairly simple in general outline. Any piece of property when combined with existing or altered sets of improvements may be used in a variety of ways — for shopping, storage, industrial plants, or various qualities of residence. Given the technology of the day, the availability of capital and of people, the levels and distribution of wealth, and the choices of people about spending their incomes, each alternative use of a property will have expected values. The use that wins out will be that which yields the highest value *to the owner*. Some writers take the next step, to assert that the market operating in response to these choices will produce an economically efficient structure of cities and one which is altered tolerably well to suit changes in the underlying data of a city. For example, if the population of a city grows, subdivided land will become scarce and more expensive, and new subdivisions will be brought into place; if too much land is being subdivided the price of lots will decline, slowing down the conversion of land to an urban status. If, through improvements in transportation and higher standards of living, the public demands more land per residence, then the market will produce this pattern. If more commercial facilities are demanded, then it is asserted that the market will produce these in approximately the right amounts, forms and places. Some writers go on to allege that the system produces good results not only economically but in other social regards. In other words the basic case for a laissez-faire approach to the economic and social organization of cities is the same as in the organization of agriculture, the choice of fields of work, and the amounts and ways in which automobiles or coffee pots or cheese are produced and distributed.

The General Case for Public Intervention in Regulating Land Use

The case for a complete laissez-faire approach to the production and distribution of goods and services and the distribution of income has long been recognized as unsatisfactory; e.g. the determination of levels of employment is accepted as a concern of social policy. The state intervenes to improve markets which are imperfect, to place

limits on the exercise of monopoly positions, to modify the distribution of wealth and income which the market mechanism tends to generate and in many other ways. But one may very well ask why it is that the state intervenes much more actively now as regards urban land use, housing and transportation, than it does with respect to the purchase and use of television sets or refrigerators or liquor? People are told that they may or may not subdivide land, they may or may not place housing of certain sorts in certain places; they may only use their automobiles under certain conditions and so on. What I am suggesting is that social interventions in the markets which organize urban land uses are more intense than in many other markets and presumably there is a case for this.

The fundamental point about urban land use is the interdependence of one use on another. Actions with respect to a particular land use influence profoundly the outcomes of the uses of other pieces, and vice versa. Thus if a commercial venture is set into an established residential area, the value of existing residential uses is altered; on the other hand the development of a residential area alters the value of potential commercial properties which are in or contiguous to the residential area. The development of a new transportation artery alters the value of land which it serves for various uses. Interdependences in these senses are not nearly as important elements affecting the outcomes of particular actions in the purchase and use of television sets or refrigerators or the use of cigarettes. The interdependence of urban land uses is the fundamental basis of governmental intervention in the market processes which organize the use of land in cities. No individual can protect his own interest by himself.

Another aspect of the matter is almost as important. The most important feature distinguishing cities from rural villages is the combination of size and density of population and the wealth that makes possible (and often requires) a package of urban services, such as running water, sewage disposal, transportation facilities for people and goods, mail delivery and so on. Most of these services can only be provided economically if a single enterprise provides a particular service over large segments of the urban area. Monopoly positions are thus inherent in the provision of many urban services and some

mechanism must be found to assure that the collective interest is served; regulation of franchises or the development of governmental enterprises results. Also, the provision of urban services creates urban land use values; windfalls are created for some private land holders as a result of the provision of particular urban services in particular areas. Collectively these may be offset by losses to other private holders of land, either because their land has become less valuable as a result of the new land development, or because the value of their land was premised on urban development which does not take place, or at least not as quickly. Many students of these matters believe, however, that the development of urban services is a net creator of urban land values beyond the immediate costs of providing the specific services. The point here is that both the utility aspects and the modification of the structure (and perhaps the level) of urban land values represent bases of social intervention in a private market mechanism.

Another basis for social intervention in the markets organizing urban land use are the extreme imperfections of the markets in some respects and circumstances. First there are the imperfections of knowledge. The individual property owner is usually an amateur; the knowledge which he may possess about the nature of his property and its potential value is comparatively slight. Even with the best market organization which is possible the market would still throw up anomalies. The imperfections of knowledge also provide opportunities for misrepresentation. The real estate broker is in principle the means for bringing an expert professional knowledge to bear on the land-use market. Unfortunately, in the past, a large fraction of the land developers and real estate organizations consisted of people whose motto was Barnum's "A Fool is Born every Minute", of people who were professionally first cousins to pedlars of phony mining stock. House building and house repairs have also been activities notorious for bilking the public. Markets in which there are great imperfections of knowledge do not work very well and it is not surprising to find social intervention in such circumstances. A National Building Code and systematic governmental inspections of new structures to see that they meet some minimum specified standards bring

some expertness to bear on the quality of the housing constructed. Tight legal obligations on the subdivider of new land provide restraints on misrepresentation and fraud, as well as serve other purposes; it has become relatively easy to determine what rights and services attach to the property one buys, and what restraints on the use of contiguous property exist. Attempts to license and professionalize the activities of real estate brokers are also directed in part to improving the honest, expert, broking function which is so terribly important in a market dominated by amateurs.

The land-use market has reacted in a very sluggish way to changes in economic circumstances in the past. When a scarcity of serviced land or structures has appeared, it usually has taken quite a long time to substantially increase the supply; the process of increasing the supply, once started, seems to carry on more or less according to its own inner dynamic. Thus quite frequently the increases in supply continue for some time after the scarcity has disappeared generating an excess supply which is comparatively difficult to digest. Land prices, the prices of structures, and rentals tend at first to zoom upwards and then, in the situation of oversupply, to zoom downwards. The typical story has been of great instability in rates of development of urban land and structures and of even greater instability in the prices of urban land and structures. The last century and a half on this continent provides a story of real estate booms and collapses over and over again. These instabilities have their origins in the general forces which produce long cycles in economic development. However these forces have had a peculiarly severe impact on the markets in urban land and structures. Ease of entry, imperfections of knowledge, uncertainty about the state of the market, a considerable gestation period between the initiation and the realization of efforts to increase the supply, the durability of the goods and the short-run irreversibility of changes in supply — all of these appear to play some rôle in generating the instabilities or in producing unusually serious instabilities in land development when they are generated by broad economic changes. Premature subdivisions were one of the worst results of these instabilities. In the 1920's for example many North American cities had half again as much subdivided urban land as was

then used. Much of this was serviced using municipal credit. Most of the land was heavily mortgaged, yet priced at highly inflated figures. When the bubble broke persons with small equities in their land holdings lost all; the municipalities could not collect the tax bills; the complicated inter-lacing of mortgage arrangements became almost impossible to untangle resulting in a maze of clouded titles. The form of subdivision was often out of step with the type of land use later required. This pattern of prematurity has been repeated many times in North America.

II

THE RÔLE OF GOVERNMENTS

The Rôle of Governments in City-Building in Other Countries.

In most countries governments play a much more active rôle now than they used to as *regulators* of the private market processes which develop and arrange the use of urban land and as *direct participators* in this process. At the one extreme, in some of the Scandinavian countries and in Germany there has been a long tradition of governments being essentially the urban landlords and thus having a strong power to shape the cities; private activities in building and owning and leasing property exist in these countries but the range of city-building carried on by private market arrangements is much more narrow than it is on this continent. The British position appears to be in-between the Swedish and German arrangements on the one hand and North American arrangements on the other. In the first place the provision of urban roads, water and sewage facilities has long been a governmental function; this power of creating the skeleton of cities has been used fairly vigorously in the United Kingdom to shape the cities and to control the private market place. Secondly, zoning and subdivision controls have been used for more than fifty years in the United Kingdom as a regulation of the private market place. Thirdly, for a substantial proportion of the housing, the local authorities have been the land developers and the builders, owners and lessees

of buildings. Many of the most attractive developments of land use, particularly of low-rental housing in Europe, have been substantially subsidized by the government purse. Fourthly, partly as a response to war damage to cities, and partly because of the general case for state intervention in urban redevelopment, governments have been active (though not necessarily continuous) participants in the launching of urban redevelopment schemes. Fifthly, the state has been the active builder of new towns in the United Kingdom. Finally, the state has designated areas as green belts, denying to the private property owners the right to shift the use of their land from its present use except to a limited range of approved green belt alternatives; and all this without (or with quite limited) compensation for the modification of private property rights.

In the United States there has been an aggressive experimentation with various governmental devices to regulate land-use markets and a considerable development of state enterprise. This is particularly interesting because the issue in the United States was for a long time seen in rather doctrinaire terms, as a socialism versus capitalism one. The "muckraker" literature showed American cities as incredibly bad places, the product of unholy alliances between slum landlords, big business, machine politicians, criminals, and bribery-ridden police forces and civic administrations. During the first world war and in the 1920's, civic reform and the improvements of the slums were treated as important issues, not only in themselves, but as a base for a healthy democratic capitalist society. Voluntary efforts at civic reform were very energetically launched by leaders in business, education and the church; semi-philanthropic efforts were made by some business leaders to provide decent housing to replace the worst slums. Zoning laws were introduced into a large number of American cities; the first notable comprehensive planning studies of American cities were produced. The driving force behind these (largely voluntary and semi-philanthropic) reform and reconstruction efforts was the idea that American capitalism would really show that it could clean up its own house; that it could produce good cities as well as huge volumes of automobiles and skyscrapers and machine tools. Whatever the chance for this approach to succeed in times of prosperity, it had

little chance with the advent of the great depression. The United States turned toward more vigorous planning, public housing, public activity with respect to private housing, federal, state and local regulation over land use, tightened controls over subdivisions, and limitations on the use of municipal finance to support real estate speculation. As it turned out, these steps did not make the United States into a socialist economy; rather there developed in city-building and urban land development and use a sort of mixed-economy blending private and governmental activities.

The emphasis in the United States has been on regulation and shaping of the environment within which the private market works rather than government enterprises as urban landlords. Limitations on the use of private property have been developed, without compensation to the owners of the private property rights, under what is called the police power, a power to regulate in the broad public interest. Also, more vigorous use has been made of rights of expropriation of private property with compensation, the expropriation being for public purposes. The big change in this respect during the last three decades has been a broadening of the range of public purposes for which the power could be used; this broadening has depended on gradual change in the interpretation by the American courts of "public purposes". Perhaps even more important has been the use of the power of the public purse to regulate and shape urban land uses in the United States, and the particularly strong hand played in this regard by the federal government in United States. In order that a house-purchaser may qualify for the federally-administered mortgage insurance, his house must be located in a subdivision which meets certain standards laid down by the central government. The Federal Roads Programme has a large urban highway content and a profound influence on the shaping of the larger cities. The federal government has been the driving force in the reorganization of the house mortgage market, which indirectly has contributed so greatly to reshaping American cities. These are but three examples of the use of the central government's purse as a regulatory device.

The Rôle of the Private Market and of Governments in City-Building in Canada.

In Canada the rôle of the state in influencing land use is very much less than in Europe and somewhat less than in the United States. However, government influence on city-building has increased very greatly during the last twenty-five years. Every province now has urban planning legislation and some control over subdividing; most local communities influence land use through the zoning legislation. Municipal credit is used much less frequently now to install local services. The various National Housing Acts have brought about a virtual revolution in the terms on which new home ownership may be initiated, though the mortgage insurance arrangements of the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation have been little used as a regulatory device so far. In quite a number of cases, federal-provincial land assembly projects have been the developers of new urban land — that is, the state has replaced the private market as the developer of urban residential land to a limited extent in Canada. Both federal and provincial arrangements are available in support of rental housing; the most commonly used element of these has been the public support of private projects by loans of funds at less than market rates of interest. A few pilot projects in public housing have been carried out, some of these with an explicit subsidy and others with minor hidden subsidies. Resources have been made available to finance urban studies. Expropriation procedures have been used in a few cases for urban development and redevelopment projects. Also a beginning has been made on publicly-supported urban redevelopment schemes, through acquiring, clearing and reselling land.

Despite all the efforts at improving the urban environment, very serious criticisms have been heard recently of the city-building efforts in Canada; suggestions that planning has been a failure; other suggestions that more vigorous positive planning and governmental action are required in order to improve our cities.

III

THE PERFORMANCE OF THE REGULATED MARKET IN LAND USE IN CANADA

A main theme of this essay has been that some of the fundamental shortcomings of an unbridled laissez-faire approach to "city-building" were recognized quite some time ago even in Canada. Most of the urban development during the last twenty years in this country has been in a mixed-economy framework of *regulated* private enterprise. The criticisms of our performance during the last two decades thus fall substantially on the governmental apparatus. Two possibilities exist: the circumstances of urban growth during the last twenty years may have been unusual and thus the apparatus of regulation (which might be quite satisfactory in normal times) has not had a decent chance to work; or, the apparatus has been at fault. If one accepts the second alternative, it follows that a revamping of the apparatus or a replacement of regulated markets by public enterprises may be required.

In judging the effectiveness of the regulated market development of Canadian cities during the last twenty years, it is very important to remember the circumstances. At the end of the last war, Canada started off with a poorly-housed people in cities that were poorly-equipped with social capital facilities; many of the cities were one-man administrative shows. The run-down state of our cities was the result of many years of neglect during the great depression and six years of postponement during the war. The requirements for urban housing and services had been masked by the depression and by wartime diversions of consumer incomes. Even if the urban population growth after 1945 had been no larger than it was in the fifteen preceding years, there would have been a massive job of creating housing and developing cities and city services after the war. In fact the pace of urban growth was twice as high in the fifteen years after 1945 as it had been in the fifteen years before that year. The growth in the urban use of automobiles was even more rapid. In the circumstances one could hardly expect to create an urban environment which was vastly better than that which existed in the past.

Fortunately Canada had developed something of a governmental apparatus between 1935 and 1947 to aid and control the urban developments. Most provinces had planning legislation which provided a basis for control over the development of subdivisions, the development of official plans and the exercise of zoning controls. The Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation had developed a pattern of joint government-private financing of ordinary residential housing, and some schemes for the encouragement of controlled rental or low rental housing. The National Housing Code had been developed and it was adopted as the standard of building restriction in many municipalities. The Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation had developed and popularized a set of economical housing designs; however much one may object to these, they at least meant that a larger fraction of Canadian houses were professionally designed. Also, fortunately, out of the economic experience of the war, the financial position of most municipalities was markedly improved; and thus, following the rules of thumb of municipal finance, the municipalities had the capacity to undertake and finance many renovations and extensions of municipal services. Also, fortunately, the principal lending institutions which finance housing held much less than their normal complement of mortgages at the end of the war, and they were very interested in expanding their mortgage portfolios, particularly as the government participation in such financing had removed the bad taste that had developed in mortgage markets in the 1930's. After a somewhat slow start in the early post-war years, the investment in housing and municipal services in Canada increased substantially, and a tolerably creditable job of city-building took place.

However much one may criticise the operation of the planning apparatus and the housing markets and the governmental arrangements that have some responsibility for city-building, it should be recognized that the Canadian job of city-building after 1945 was *better* than in most like circumstances in our past. The circumstances were ripe for a wild speculative boom in the development of urban real estate and the subdividing of land; this was certainly the typical performance in such circumstances in the past. The booms in the past were followed by collapses in urban development, in foreclosures of

mortgages and the 'voluntary' giving up of property in an effort to settle debts, in heavy volumes of uncollected taxes, in cloudy titles and so on. While there have been considerable appreciations in the value of urban real estate during the past fifteen years, there has been nothing comparable to the wild speculations of the past. Nor has there been anything like the same proportion of jerry-built housing put in place as in like periods of urban boom earlier in our experience.

A Change in Public Policy Regarding Cities.

Even when allowances are made for the extraordinary circumstances of city-building during the last fifteen years in Canada and when recognition is given to the successes of the planning and other governmental apparatus, there still remain questions of modification of public policy. Our city-building has been sprawly and lacking in amenity; congestion has increased; gross imperfections in the market place remain; the redevelopment of older sections of our cities has been neglected. Does a general case exist for much more rigorous regulation of the market place and for much greater use of public enterprises in place of a regulated private apparatus in city-building?

This writer finds little value in a doctrinaire approach to such a question. To justify a position by adducing that it is the free enterprise approach is no argument at all; the question is one of the suitability of the method to the job. I believe that those jobs of city-building which are done tolerably well most of the time by an unregulated private market mechanism should be left to such a mechanism. Those jobs which the market, as it stands, does not do very well or not well very often, should form the basis of social intervention. The intervention should first be an effort to improve the market or the environment within which it works so that it may work tolerably well. Where, after experimentation with improving the market or when a very strong *a priori* case or comparative evidence indicates that the market, regulated or unregulated, may not do the jobs of city-building well, then we should frankly use a state enterprise. The problems then arise of providing some means of assuring a tolerably decent performance in economic, social and political respects, on the part of the state enterprise. This general philosophy is based on the idea that the

jobs to be done in city-building are extraordinarily complicated and changing over time; a governmental administrative apparatus does not do these jobs well, at least not within a framework of a rule of law.

The approach suggested is not a simple one, for it implies that we must find out what jobs of city-building are done well and ill by various means; it implies that the rôle of the market and of government activities will be quite different in some circumstances than in others. This may be illustrated by considering one area of controversy over the existing institutional arrangements, that dealing with the development of new urban land.

Land Subdivision as an Example

One of the principal points of controversy over the rôle of governments and of the private market is in the development of new urban land uses, including the subdividing of land, and the ascertaining of uses of the land. Woodbury suggested that an unregulated laissez-faire approach would produce poor physical layouts, a lack of amenity, prematurity, excessive amounts of commercial land, ribbon developments, mixtures of conflicting uses, excessive shifting of uses and of property values and so on. The exclusive subdivisions which were developed in the 1920's for example, by large development companies with a continuing interest, with carefully developed deed restrictions, were the principal exceptions to these allegations. By the end of the 1920's, it appeared that the free enterprise approach to city-building could do a good job of developing urban land uses for the rich, but for nobody else.

As to the current situation in Canada, the Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Residential Environment operating for the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada is very enlightening. One might presume that with the development of zoning laws, subdivision controls, and the growth of official plans and planning officers, and the improvement in mortgage markets and the research and design activities of CMHC, most of the old ills of urban land development would be cured. Some have been, but the RAIC inquiry suggests that many deficiencies still exist. They complain of the monotony of our new subdivisions, of the sprawl, of the absence of

amenities. Clearly something more than negative planning is required. The Architects Inquiry found many subdivisions which were poor and some that were good examples of design; they asked what conditions accompanied the latter but were absent usually in the former. A necessary but not sufficient set of conditions for good design of new urban land uses included, in their opinion, development in comparatively large units by organizations that were in the business professionally with the intention of continuing such activities for long periods of time; imagination and careful planning by the subdivider, having regard to services, schools, the siting and mixing of houses, considering the subdivision as a whole. These conditions have not been present very often.

The RAIC inquiry suggests a much more vigorous use of government land assembly arrangements in the future; that is, of state enterprises to replace the government-regulated private enterprises as the developer of new urban land. In effect they are saying that the efforts to produce a reasonably decent job of city-building in the development of new urban land and new housing by means of regulating the private market are a failure; though they may have cleaned up some of the old ills of the laissez-faire approach to urban land development, they have not dealt with the whole of some minimum list of jobs, except for the rich, who, presumably can take care of themselves.

Let's look at the land assembly approach, for it presents most aspects of the general problem of state versus private activity in cities. First, the land assembly schemes put governments into the position of acquiring, planning, subdividing, servicing and selling urban land. Such projects are mainly to serve families in the middle ranges of income. Second, the objectives are mixed ones. In part the conception is that the land assembly approach can do a better job in developing land for people in the middle ranges of family income than the private market can do. Because the projects are sizeable ones, with a continuing interest on the part of the development authority, more thought and concern is given to the design of the layout than a private developer may give. Presumably, because of the participation of the local authorities in land assembly projects, the choice of land to subdivide and the layout and servicing may be made to fit better into

the overall pattern of city-development. Most important, however, serviced residential lots may be cheaper than under private developments; this mainly depends on the land assembly project obtaining control over raw land on favourable terms; that is, governments have to take speculative positions in undeveloped land. Third, most land assembly projects are subsidized. Much of the apparent cheapness of lots in a land assembly project is due to the subsidization. Public authorities may acquire land at one point of time and develop it much later; they do not charge interest on their investment in the raw land as a cost to the land assembly project. Land assembly projects are mainly financed by the use of the federal government credit; the interest rates on the capital costs of development are thus much less than the comparable rates which the private developer must pay. Much of the efforts of design of the subdivision, organization of the venture, and sale of the lots are supplied by governments to the land assembly projects at no cost or at a nominal cost.

A case may be made for subsidizing land assembly projects for the middle income groups of the community, but let us be clear as to what we are doing. This writer would prefer that land assembly projects be not subsidized. The state might very well be a speculator in urban land, selling land assembly lots at market values; if they make profits out of such schemes, the returns could be used to meet some of the indirect costs of urban growth and to improve public facilities for the whole community. Fourth, the land assembly projects are an interesting mixture of public and private activity — usually the government participation is limited to developing and retailing building lots on which individuals build houses through private channels. Is the monotony of the housing less; its physical structure and appearance better; the sense of community more developed in land assembly arrangements than in private developments? It is very hard to know for sure. Certainly, land assembly arrangements do not produce universally good and attractive housing. Some streets may be charming and attractive and others a mess. There is, in general, more variety in the housing than in a builder's tract, but that is about all. Finally, even if the land assembly projects thus far have been a moderate success, it does not necessarily follow that their extension

would meet with equal success. Such projects have represented a small fraction of the urban land development; they have served a very useful rôle as examples of thoughtful planning and as a public counter to urban land speculation. But if the bulk of the urban land was developed in this way, the results might be quite different. In this country the real drive for such ventures is federal and that is the source of finance. But the responsibility for local government and urban land development is provincial. Federal-provincial-local partnerships have been the vehicle for land assembly projects; but the compromises involved, and the reluctance of the federal authorities to make an effective use of their powers has resulted in a rather flabby, lowest-common denominator approach to such projects.

A Final Note

The development of new urban land is but one example of the various tasks of city-building. I believe that an excellent case exists for increased use of the land assembly schemes as a technique of developing new urban land, though some deficiencies have been suggested in the current use of the technique. For each other major field of city-building I suggest that much study of the existing institutions and their work must be made; that alternative mechanisms for doing jobs should be considered; and that a philosophy of enlightened economic pragmatism be applied to revisions of public policy concerned with "city-building" in Canada.

Governing Urban Communities

by

STEWART FYFE

IN 1901 the population of Canada was five and one-third million. Forty per cent of these lived in urban communities. In 1956, the population was just over sixteen million and sixty-five per cent lived in urban communities. In other words while the total population has tripled, the urban population has increased fivefold.¹

This, however, is only one aspect of the much publicized urban explosion. At least equally significant are the rising standard of living and changes in technology which have transformed the character of urban life and development. Government exists to serve the community and reflects its character, and extensive changes in the community entail modifications of both the machinery of government and the services rendered by government. The most direct impact of urban growth has been on local government but both senior levels of government are being drawn increasingly and inevitably into the servicing of urban areas. It is the impact of some aspects of this process of urbanization on the machinery of local government, together with the consequent changes in the relation of the senior governments to urban communities, that is of concern here.

The process of urbanization has not meant just an increase in the numbers and population of urban centres. Their very character, manner of growth and relationships to the surrounding areas have also been changing.

Urban communities were once compact, densely populated areas. Except in the smaller centres, lot sizes were small, houses were close together and the transition on the fringe from urban to rural was fairly distinct. The urban communities derived their particular character from the conditions of the time. The limitations of transportation whether by horse or by foot meant that urban development had to be compact to minimize the amount of unproductive time con-

¹ It is difficult to make an exact comparison because definitions of "urban" differ for different census years. Also Newfoundland is only included in the 1956 figures.

sumed in moving people and goods from place to place. The economic advantage of compact development made for high land costs and small lots. In addition the limitations of income made for high densities, for the great mass of the population could not afford large expenditures on shelter. For reasons of defence compact development was also necessary. The habits of building so established may have been carried on long after the circumstances had changed.

This old established pattern began to break down in the nineteenth century with the development of mass public transportation. Today a substantially different pattern appears to be developing based mainly on mass private transportation. The widespread impact of technological changes in communications, the most important of which has been the internal combustion engine, has been closely linked with great increases in the standard of living and changes in the distribution of income. As a result, at the same time that it has become technically possible to reduce urban densities, the numbers who could afford private transportation and higher standards of accommodation have been increased. These changes have been accompanied by changes in taste or fashion, putting an enormous emphasis on open space. Frank Lloyd Wright in his reaction to the evils of urban life as he saw them proposed a new type of "Broadacres" city with densities of one person per acre.

The changes in the character of urban communities can be seen today if one starts in the centre of any city and moves outwards. The tall, narrow rows of semi-detached houses on sixteen and twenty-five foot lots give way to two-storey houses of the early twentieth century, each on its thirty-three or forty foot lot. These in turn are succeeded by the bungalow and two-storey house with perhaps a driveway at the side on a frontage of perhaps fifty feet. Then the appearance of the ranch bungalow marks the post-war housing built on zoning by-law minimum fifty-foot lots. These are succeeded by split-level houses on lots averaging sixty feet, with seventy feet and more being common. Gradually the pattern of development becomes less continuous and the gaps between the subdivisions and shopping centres are larger, while the size of the subdivisions decreases until finally there is only an intermittent scattering of houses, gradually thinning out.

There are signs that the tide is changing. The proportion of new housing units in the form of apartments has been increasing remarkably and there have been experiments rediscovering the advantages of row housing. Perhaps even more significantly the pursuit of country life on the fringe of the city is giving way perhaps to a new fashion for living in the older and more central areas of our cities.

Many people are discovering that one cannot escape from the city just by moving a few miles into the country. Close to the city, it is only a matter of time before the tide of continuous urban development catches up. Further out, the traffic and other problems created by the growing numbers who have joined the flight to the suburbs and the "country", offset many of the advantages of country life.

The character of the urban development has changed in many respects. In the first place, because of lower densities, the same population requires much greater areas, so that urban communities are growing in area much faster than they are in population. Secondly, the zone of transition from urban to rural, which once was relatively narrow and gave a clearly definable edge to the city, has become very wide. As a result the boundary between town and country becomes blurred. Thirdly, the character of the rural areas surrounding the urban community and their relationship to that community have altered. The city is no longer a market place to be visited at intervals. It is a place of employment to which one journeys daily. As a result loyalty and interest are divided between the urban community in which one works and the rural community in which one lives. This division is increased because the urban worker has a different way of life, lives in a house on a small plot of ground and requires a much wider range of services from government than is required by the farmers composing the traditional rural community.

Another aspect of urban expansion is the tendency for the larger urban centres to draw increasingly within their sphere of influence the smaller neighbouring urban communities. Even though they may be long established, the character of their relationship to the central city becomes increasingly a dependent one, and their growth a result of their proximity. This, together with the tendency for development to take place along the main highways radiating from the city, and

particularly on inter-urban roads, gives rise to urban complexes, each unique in its development, composition and problems. Considerable publicity has been given to the new type of urbanized area, for example, stretching from east of Oshawa to beyond Hamilton, or the pattern of continuous development of the Niagara Peninsula. As yet we have nothing on the grand scale such as is to be found in the United States, where a "megalopolis" of interrelated urbanized areas stretching continuously from Boston to Washington is a very real possibility. Nor have we anything in Canada comparable to the amorphous sprawl of Los Angeles.

The expansion of the urban community and the changing relationship with the surrounding areas are aspects of the increasing interdependence of all parts of our society, as it becomes increasingly complex and industrial. In this process the changes in communications are both a cause and a result. This greater interdependence affects the relations not only between communities but also relationships at all levels within communities, including individual relationships. To put it another way, as society becomes more complex economically and socially, the degree of self-sufficiency of individuals and communities necessarily decreases. Inevitably we become more dependent on others and are more affected by their actions or lack of action.

Inevitably this has meant demands on governments to provide new services and to raise the standards of existing services. This is partly because, with higher incomes, we both expect and can afford a similar improvement in the standards of services. Partly, too, greater interdependence means that government must intervene more, both in its traditional police rôle between individuals, and in the increasingly important positive rôle as a directing and initiating agency; this has been accompanied by a change in attitude towards government with citizens expecting governments to act more positively. At the same time progress in understanding the workings of the community and in technology have made it possible to increase the range and quality of governmental services. Town planning as it is understood today is in large part the product of advances in such relatively new fields as economics, sociology, and civil engineering. The modern techniques of constructing sewers and watermains are little over one hundred

years old, and our methods of sewage treatment have only been evolved in this century.

These changes in the nature of the urban communities, the services provided to them by government and the conditions under which these services are provided, all have had considerable effects on the machinery of government.

Adjustment of the machinery of government to changing circumstances is not a new problem. The sum of all governmental activity may be regarded as an organic whole in which there is a continuous process of modification and accommodation, affecting both extent and division of responsibility in terms of both physical areas and functions. The difference today is that, because of the rate at which changes are taking place, the greater areas becoming urbanized and the complexity of the relationships, the ways in which the machinery of government has in the past been modified to meet new conditions may no longer be sufficient.

Traditionally the structure of local government has been divided into rural and urban units of various types. This reflected basic differences in the way of life, problems and resources of these different types of community. Traditionally, too, as the urban community grew, periodically the legal boundaries were extended. This was in recognition of the fact that the urban community is a unit and should be governed as such, and that the development which over-spills the artificial legal boundaries has not the same interests as the rural community, in which it is in a sense an intrusion. Just as growth is an uneven process, adjustment by annexation has necessarily been an imperfect process; uneven as to time, and inconsistent in the degree of comprehensiveness because of differing legal, political, social and economic circumstance. The need for change is not always easily recognized and long term and short term advantages often do not coincide. While working tolerably well in most cases, boundary adjustment has not been a completely satisfactory answer in the largest urban areas. Not infrequently, as in the case of Paris, London (twice), New York, Winnipeg, Montreal and Toronto, the senior government has had to intervene to impose a solution. Even then the size of the areas involved and the complexity of the problems have meant that

the extension of the boundaries has not been as adequate a solution as it has been for smaller communities.

In the past the number of these "difficult" cases was very small, although large proportions of the total population were affected. Today, because of the changing circumstances, almost every city of even medium size has associated with it problems which formerly were peculiar to metropolitan centres. The centrifugal forces at work extending the urban community over larger areas coincide with changes whereby what is considered the desirable size of administrative units for many services is also increasing. Services as diverse as health, education, police, fire protection, water supply, sewage disposal, air pollution, and libraries are increasingly requiring larger areas either on technical or financial grounds to provide the quality of service which the public is demanding or because the area of common interest in a service has become so large. Sewage disposal can usually be best provided on a watershed basis. Problems of atmospheric pollution do not recognize municipal boundaries nor do crime or contagious diseases. As a result there is a case for reorganizing the whole structure of local government both urban and rural to provide units which are stronger both administratively and financially to meet the new demands on local government. At present the basic structure of local government is being modified in this manner in several provinces. The trend towards larger and more numerous changes in the boundaries of urban municipalities coincides with and is partly affected by the general tendency to larger units of local government. To the degree that the surrounding rural units have been strengthened so as to be more capable of serving the suburban areas, the urgency for changing urban boundaries is reduced, for one of the strongest arguments for annexation is the inability or unwillingness of rural municipalities to service the suburban areas and control their development.

Since 1945 changes in the boundaries of almost every large and medium sized urban municipality in Canada have either taken place or have been seriously considered.

In the past few years Winnipeg and Toronto have adopted metropolitan governments. Studies of metropolitan problems are either under way or have been recently concluded in every city in Canada.

with a population of over 100,000 from Vancouver to Halifax with the exception of Quebec and Regina, and in the case of the latter, the provincial government by order-in-council ordered that the city should take in several suburbs. In the United States there is a regular rash of metropolitan studies and, in 1959, it was reported that of cities over 5000 population, 532 or one in five, made annexations, and the total area involved was 623 square miles. The grandfather of all metropolitan municipalities is the London County Council established in 1888 to meet the problems of a burgeoning London. (Because the City has always refused to change its boundaries which are still the original square mile, it was made a subordinate part of a new metropolitan government). A Royal Commission has just recommended that the London County Council's jurisdiction is too small and should be replaced with a greatly enlarged body having within its boundaries one-fifth of the population of England and Wales. On a smaller scale, examples of the sort of changes taking place are the decisions to enlarge London, Ontario, from a city of 102,500 population and 5,000 acres to one of 150,000 population and 42,000 acres, and to add 43,000 to the present 41,000 population of St. Catharines while increasing the area to 18,000 acres by annexing two towns and most of one township to the city.

Another alternative to annexation is to modify the framework of government by separating the urbanized part of the municipality from the rural part and incorporating it as a separate municipality, in recognition of fundamental differences in the needs and resources of rural and urban areas. Because of the limited area involved, incorporation of the suburban areas can be no more than a partial and temporary solution and results in a multiplication of jurisdictions. Fragmentation of government in basically a single urban community can only weaken the machinery of government through division of political, administrative and financial responsibility.

The structure of local government may be modified by the creation of a special body for the purpose of providing one or more specified services over an area including all or parts of more than one municipality. This has two main advantages — it provides machinery for overcoming deficiencies in providing a particular service

or in a particular area, and politically it provides a simple way of meeting needs without undertaking the difficult chore of changing the governmental machinery. In addition the area of jurisdiction can be chosen which is most suitable for the particular service. Because municipalities must provide a wide range of services, compromises must be reached, in drawing their boundaries, between a great number of considerations, among which are the wide range of optimum areas for particular services. Special purpose bodies are useful in some situations and provided only a limited number are created. Unfortunately the tendency has been to apply this solution at times in almost wholesale fashion. The most serious objections to it are that by providing answers to particular problems, the basic problem of the need for a unified approach is obscured and it is even more difficult to make fundamental changes in the area and responsibilities of the municipalities involved. By increasing the fragmentation of the machinery of government it makes the achievement of effective co-ordination and political responsibility, which are problems under the best of circumstances, even more difficult.

Yet another approach is some form of two-tier or federal system whereby there is one large municipality providing services which require a very large area and within it a number of smaller municipalities, not necessarily subordinate, providing more localized services. This is the approach being tried in both Toronto and Winnipeg, but the particular formulae being used in those cases are only two, and not necessarily the best, of a variety of possible answers. In very large urban complexes some form of metropolitan organization may be necessary because of the scale and intricacy of the problems, and perhaps may be justified on the grounds of political expediency, for reorganizing the local government of a great city is a difficult and thankless undertaking. However, none but the largest communities can justify the additional cost in energy and money which this elaboration entails, although politically it may be more palatable than out-right annexation or amalgamation.

As well as altering territorial responsibilities, adjustments to the machinery of government take place by changing the pattern of services. New services are continually being undertaken and the manner of

carrying out existing functions modified, as experience is gained, technical advances occur, fresh demands appear and additional resources become available. At the same time there is a continuous process of shifting the division of responsibility for services between the various levels of government as the existing division becomes less appropriate. Particularly noticeable in this is the upward drift of services, the county assuming services from the townships and the province providing services formerly the responsibility of local government. It is difficult to think of a service which formerly was a responsibility of a province which has become a responsibility of local government, although this upward trend might be reversed at least in part if the provinces would put their minds to strengthening local government units, as the main argument for transferring responsibility is that the municipalities are too weak.

The increase in the amount of governmental activity, the changes in the character of it, the extent to which more and more individuals and communities are affected by the actions of both individuals and municipalities all mean that the senior levels of government are being brought into greater contact with local government and urban problems.

Traditionally, aside from legislation providing for the machinery of local government the provinces had little administrative contact with local governments, and even if more had been desirable, the problems of communication and the state of the administrative machinery made direct interference rare. This relationship has changed completely in this century, and particularly since 1945, to the point where a very large part of the activities of the provincial governments has to do with local governments. A crude indication of the extent of the change is given by the fact that Ontario proposed for the 1960-61 fiscal year to pay grants amounting to \$342,700,000 to municipalities and local boards, an increase from some \$21,000,000 in 1945, and representing thirty-eight per cent of the province's revenues. To-day a large part of the administrative apparatus of the province is engaged in co-ordinating to some degree the activities of municipalities. Partly this is inevitable, but in no small part is it due to the weaknesses of the machinery of local government arising from un-

necessary fragmentation and the retention of units which are no longer suitable in changed conditions.

Provincial involvement in local government is not restricted to co-ordinating, advising, persuading (including financial persuasion by means of grants), and, on occasion, coercing. More and more the trend is for the province to intervene directly either by requiring the municipality to perform certain functions in a certain manner or by taking on the service itself. In the field of sewage disposal and water supply, the provinces are more frequently requiring municipalities to act because the implications of these services reach beyond the boundaries of any one municipality. In Ontario on the ground that the municipalities are unwilling or unable to act effectively, the provincial government is actually constructing sewage and water facilities. Another example is highways which were from the earliest days almost entirely a local matter. Gradually as the problems of inter-urban traffic overshadowed those of local traffic in rural areas a network of provincially maintained highways was established. In recognition that even local streets are no longer solely matters of local concern, the provinces have become involved in urban streets through grants — and the inevitable conditions attached thereto — and in other ways. Today, suburban commuting traffic is becoming more important on the highways than the inter-urban traffic and it appears that the provinces are being drawn into direct responsibility for highways within urban municipalities in the form of by-passes and entrance roads — for example in Toronto, Ottawa and Montreal — and the federal government is also being drawn in through its various highway programmes. In Toronto there have been requests that the provincial government contribute to the cost of subway construction, on the grounds that here is a saving to the province through the reduction in the cost of major streets.

While constitutionally having no responsibility for or authority in matters concerning local government, the federal government has been moving more and more into the field of urban problems. This is occurring both indirectly as in its welfare and health programmes and directly as in its activities in the field of housing, town planning, slum clearance and urban renewal. The effect of the National

Housing Act on the character of urban development is comparable to that of all the provincial planning legislation, for it not only has transformed building regulations and housing standards but, by facilitating the flow of funds into residential building has accelerated the rate of urban expansion and affected its character.

In the United States the complexity and scale of the problems of urban growth have brought suggestions that the federal government establish a Department of Urban Affairs. While suggestions have been made in Canada that the federal government should devote more attention to urban problems, there has been no suggestion of such a department being established. This is partly because, compared to the state governments, the Canadian provinces are much stronger bodies politically, financially and administratively and consequently there has not been the same vacuum in which the federal government could intervene. In addition the weaknesses of some state governments and of the local government units in some jurisdictions have been such that the complexities of the government of the urban areas and the problems of financing and administering services have been multiplied by proliferation of incorporated municipalities and special purpose bodies to a degree almost unknown in Canada. In the metropolitan area of Chicago there are over nine hundred and fifty public authorities of various kinds. The metropolitan area of Waterloo, Iowa, has a population of one hundred thousand who are governed by ten city councils and forty-six other local government bodies.

Clearly the nature of the problems of urban development and the most appropriate means of meeting those problems depend greatly on the nature of the community and the political and economic system within which it exists. For example, in the prairie provinces, the degree of dispersal of the community will be far less than in the quite different conditions of Southern Ontario, nor will an approach which is workable in Vancouver necessarily have much relevance in Montreal.

Only parts of a very complicated story have been told here. The changes in financial responsibilities and taxation, in administrative techniques, in the mechanisms of politics and political parties have been barely touched. Also the fact that such a large part of the population now lives in cities and towns has meant changes in many of the

other services of the provincial and federal governments, such as health and welfare.

For the future there are no signs of the urban problems becoming less complex or any less important. As long as the population grows, incomes rise and advances in techniques take place, the problems will exist. Whether it will be possible to keep pace with them by improving the standards of administration, strengthening the units of local government, rearranging the responsibilities of the various levels of government, and developing new techniques, only time will tell.

Pride Of Place

An Argument in Favour of Visual Diversity in the Urban Scene.

by

PATRICK HORSBRUGH

ANY consideration of urban development must necessarily be concerned also with the problems of replacement of buildings, and this at once raises the difficult issue of selection, since it is clear that buildings have varying merits in environmental terms no less than different uses.

I have therefore chosen to comment upon this essentially controversial topic of the relative value to the community of its older buildings, and indeed to enquire if there really is any value in acknowledging the past by a selective retention of certain examples. It seems to me that the subject is one of immediate relevance to Canadian communities at this moment of rapid and continuing change.

It is timely that some assessment be made to discover what is the present mood of the public towards the urban environment, and also to what extent public and private finances may be depended upon to respond if some intelligent leadership is established and maintained in respect of planning for the re-use of inherited features in the recreation of the city; in short, what is the extent of public sympathy for this cause, and how can it be measured, sustained and directed?

By comparison with European cities, the North American city appears to decline and to disintegrate very swiftly. There are many obvious reasons for this, the choice of materials, the greater dependence of the new cities upon mechanical services, the higher economic values which prevail here, and particularly that indefinable ingredient, sentiment. Sentimentality, like snobbishness, is, I believe, one of the most powerful forces at the disposal of the planner, either in assessing public reaction to some proposal or in stimulating it to achieve some aim otherwise unobtainable by reasoned argument.

The intensity of sentiment varies from place to place, and depends upon different conditions for its origin. It may develop through some

particular historic event such as a battle, or a birthplace of someone of distinction. It may be due to some special scenic feature, or it may be sustained by a renowned industry contributing to the livelihood of the community. During periods of rapid change, whether on a domestic, a community, or a civic scale, bewilderment and doubt as to whether the actions being taken are sound are ever present, and it is at such times that the power of sentiment may be most effective.

I do not propose to debate whether or not the Canadian scene possesses items of architectural merit, for I am convinced, in relative terms, that it does. Furthermore, I feel certain that the Canadian architectural heritage is much more extensive and more varied than is realized at present. I believe, too, that any systematic study would reveal an architected expression that can be recognized as distinctly Canadian, regional Canadian that is, even though the sources of influence of the design convention may easily be seen to have come from elsewhere.

This may be obvious enough in respect of Ontario, Quebec, and the Maritime Provinces, but the claim of being distinctly Canadian may be sustained elsewhere as soon as comparative information can be assembled. The essence of any such claim may not necessarily lie in the design of that limited range of buildings and groupings that are suggested by the term architectural. It must include every form of structure and layout; grain elevators, barns and the arrangement of farm buildings with their plantations and wind screens.

Any study of buildings of the same period but of different localities possessing some common design idiom will reveal at once the existence of local characteristics, qualities that are distinctive. These are better illustrated than described; allowing for variation in choice of material, the subtleties of design are remarkable, even where the climatic conditions are roughly comparable. For instance, there is considerable difference in detail between buildings which are contemporary in Ontario and in Tasmania and between those in Bermuda and Singapore, Jamaica or Ceylon, New England or New Zealand, Scotland and Nova Scotia. The more closely these variations are studied, the more evident it is that such characteristics are worth recognition for the sake of the variety they provide, and for the assur-

ance that in some way individuality of place and of person does emerge, and that it does enrich.

This regional enrichment and identification through building design is in a state of constant change and depletion through both carelessness and deliberate intention.

Deliberate changes are made in the name of improvement, and thus it is difficult to raise effective objections in defence of some building prized by a few persons of discernment. But, it is already clear that while easements are made for the convenience of traffic movement, and the new structures are generally larger and more profitable than those replaced, the quality of the scene is seldom improved, and the almost universal use of certain materials and forms of construction now determines that one city is to be like another, unless by some fortunate geographic distinction the landscape is able to dominate the scene, such as at Hamilton and Capetown, Quebec and Edinburgh, Montreal and Boston.

Every community is therefore faced with the dilemma, whether to applaud all changes in the belief that any change means convenience (for instance, the demolition of a church, parish hall and trees in favour of a car park) and in the hope that change will continue to beget change — or to develop some selective consciousness through the nagging suspicion that perhaps change does not always beget improvement. The development of such a consciousness is, however, a matter of economics no less than of scholarship.

There is no shortage of qualified persons and of learned but impoverished societies to point out the merits of that which is about to be destroyed, but the occasions where new and satisfactory uses can be found for continuing the life of a building or a landscape, together with financial support to bring about the changes, are very rare indeed. Lethargy and ignorance are only a small part of the forces in favour of indiscriminate change. Financial considerations set the pace and conceal the intentions.

This means then that if any city or community wishes to appreciate and to care for its inheritance large sums of money are inevitably involved together with political influences.

Sentiment has been stirred by the bleak prospect of tomorrow's urban scene which is already apparent, and the well justified fear of monotony is being systematically extended by the ever increasing suburbs and car parks and urban decay. We have been forcefully reminded by the declaration of The Right Honourable Vincent Massey, at the Tenth Anniversary of the C.P.A.C. that "ugliness is not necessary", and monotony is surely ugliness in extreme. Mr. Massey immediately raised the question "How can we afford the things that could give the city dweller a fuller life" and then he referred to the rebuilding of war-shattered cities of Europe where apparently non-essential structures such as halls and theatres were being completed "everywhere because the public wants them and is prepared to pay for them, just as they must pay for the supply of light and water".

Fear of monopoly; shame at having lost something of value through carelessness, and chagrin at being thought base for lack of taste and pride of place may be the most potent factors in promoting the sentiment which I believe to be necessary before judgement and money can flow together for the selection and security of buildings of architectural quality. Fear of monotony has aroused such sentiments in many United States cities, and certain legal controls have been established. In advocating architectural control for the preservation of historic districts, the Beacon Hill Civic Association of Boston declares its belief as follows:

"The preservation of historic districts today is widely accepted as a legitimate function of government. Not only is it justified on the basis that community appearance is important to the public welfare, but also because such areas add to our culture, education, and enjoyment by keeping history alive and visual."

Encouraging References

A brief resumé of some of the more obvious reasons why a concern for items of visual and architectural quality is appropriate at this time may show that the problem is by no means as insoluble as it might seem.

Tangible evidence of history may become increasingly reassuring as the artificiality of the technological and mechanical environment

increases. A pre-occupation with the styles and conventions of a previous age periodically occurs, both in fashion and in building; the Gothic Revival and the interest in mediaevalism, the Georgians, with their concern for classical times and scholarship, and the Renaissance are immediate examples. These major design-change influences reached their peak periods (in England) at approximately one hundred year intervals stretching back from the present time to 1860, 1760, 1660 (Wren), 1560 (Tudor).

There were, of course, minor variations of taste that struck an intermediate rhythm in concentrating upon particular periods, such as the Greek Revival, while the train of Gothickesque expression fluctuated in different locations and with different intensity, but has remained virtually unbroken since the 16th century.

It may well be, therefore, that a change of mood is due, not only in accord with the rhythmic pattern already suggested, but stimulated by the need for contrast to the prevailing international regionally-irrelevant idiom and the fear of monotony. This need is certain to become more pressing as suburbia ages, as centurbia concentrates and as conurbia expands. Even the need to identify areas by the selective use of certain species of tree will become an essential.

The urge for local identification is certain to increase with the growth of uniformity imposed by the rising demand which leads to production in quantity. Reaction to conformity is another force stimulating the development of an active appreciation of older buildings, particularly those capable of domestic uses. The slightly dubious, though possibly unavoidable, distinction of occupying an antique house may well become the hall-mark of social discernment, providing personal satisfaction and civic amenity for a generation at least. Further, a prosperous society can afford an indulgence of this kind, which can help to satisfy the harmless social conceits of snobbishness, individualism and prestige. Moreover, it is possible to avoid the Jones's by keeping up with antiquity — by selecting, restoring and maintaining — an infinitely more rewarding pursuit.

On the other hand, should economic recessions occur, the need to make the best use of existing structures will force a more critical examination of our inheritance, and emphasis upon architectural qual-

ities should result. The pace of reconstruction will be reduced, and thus the chances of the survival of distinguished structures, until a more appreciative generation arises, will be increased.

Should such economic conditions arise there is the precedent of the Depression to refer to, and in particular, the surveys and records that were made by qualified persons commissioned for this special purpose by governments as a measure against unemployment. Much of the interest in, knowledge and record of the architectural heritage of the United States was compiled under the stress of the Depression, and those responsible for the foresight and development of this program deserve praise.

It is essential that any recession should not be regarded as a time to ignore the subject of architectural inheritance on pretexts of "economy". Such conditions should promote a general re-appraisal of property and its potentialities.

Irrespective of economic fluctuations, however, the time is now right for the establishment of something in the nature of a *Canadian Panoramic Record*. The compilation of a file of reference, similar to that begun for Britain at the time of widespread bombardment, destruction and neglect, was recommended by the author, and probably by others, to the Committee of Enquiry into the Design of Residential Environment, recently set up by the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada. Some central archives of architectural, planning and scenic reference where the records of local historical and preservation societies can be reproduced and assembled is most earnestly recommended again.

Influence of Tourism

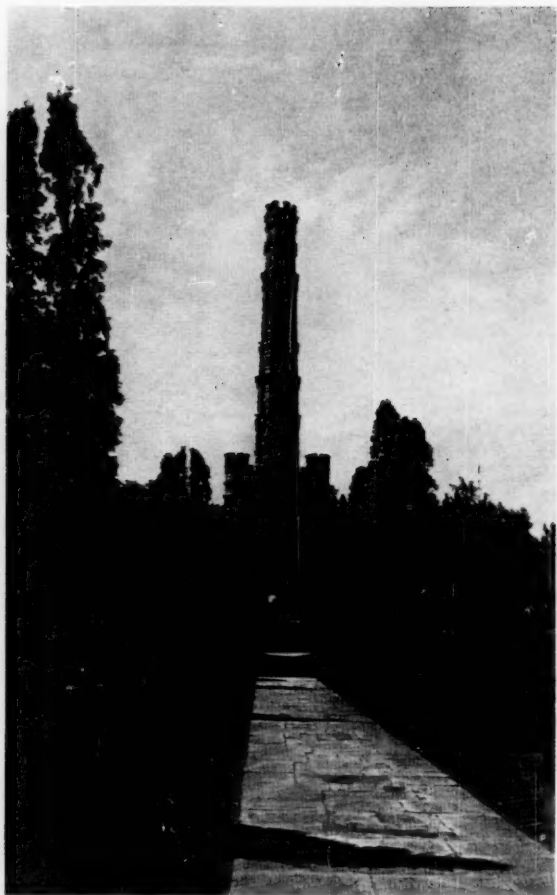
There are instances in both Canada and the United States where by wholesale reservation or reconstruction, historic precincts have been created that provide a sound financial return. These instances are few, however, and are of necessity somewhat commercial, even though they are the results of intelligent planning and careful scholarship. The passive atmosphere of the museum is inescapable in most examples and this museum factor is not, in my view, conducive to long term appreciation or self-sustaining efforts on the part of



HANSON HOUSE – HAMILTON, ONTARIO

A fine example of "Canadian Robust" c. 1880, having carefully graded slates on the dome, copper flashings and metal mouldings, over rich red glazed bricks and rough stonework. The glass is also curved in sympathy with the bold rotundity.

Hamilton possesses a remarkable number of these corner turrets ranging in date from 1860 to 1900, and varying widely in both materials and in design. This turret "expression" is worth systematic research and record since it may prove to be particular to Hamilton.



BATTLEFIELD MONUMENT

STONEY CREEK, HAMILTON, ONTARIO

Commemorating an event in the struggle of 1812-14 between Upper Canada and the United States. An excellent example of a landscape feature designed in the romantic vein giving visual distinction to a wide area and establishing a "place".



PUMPING STATION
HAMILTON, ONTARIO

designed by
Thomas C. Keefer,
Hamilton C.W.



A superb example of boldness in design, by one apparently untrained as an architect. The pumping mechanism, although no longer in use, remains complete and the whole composition may be described as unique.



The erection of the surrounding buildings has spoiled the remarkable composition of pumphouse on a mound, boiler house and chimney, which when seen among orchards must have been most striking, more reminiscent of a chapel and campanile than of a mechanical plant.



CHARLTON AVENUE — HAMILTON, ONTARIO

A detail of cast ironwork. Attention to the smaller elements of the street scene can be most rewarding. Cast iron is now in dis-favour no matter what its design quality may be, and with its destruction the street may be deprived of scale-giving contrasts, and of the interest that this decorative and possibly colour-carrying item could provide.

those in charge. There really is no substitute for that indefinable vitality that comes from use, even though the use may be different from that originally designed for.

Financial gains for either the individual or for the municipality from historical incidents and incidentals cannot be expected to be spectacular. Consistency of returns is preferable as a basis for investment, and I am convinced that popular respect for, and interest in the historical will continue to increase, thus ensuring reasonable revenues.

For example, a generation ago many landlords in Britain were disposing of their properties under the pressure of taxation and in despair of ever again being able to heat, staff and inhabit their houses; yet now, several hundreds of houses are "open" to receive an eager, interested, mostly well-behaved and steadily increasing flow of people paying gladly to enjoy park, house and contents which have become a *common inheritance*, even though the responsibility for upkeep is not shared.

More and more books of illustration and of scholarship devoted to the antiquities of both continents load the shelves of libraries and shops and, further, these books are ever more expensive, more specialized and more technical, but there is no sign that the demand has begun to decline.

Sentiment to Reputation

Any review of the quality of cities will produce a list of endearing features, yet few of these are other than financial liabilities since the returns which they bring defy accurate assessment, thus monies must be continually voted on a basis of pride and of faith. It is these very features, however, which sustain the reputation of a city.

The Mayor of Hamilton, in his speech of welcome to the delegates of the recent Conference of the Community Planning Association of Canada, dwelt upon this same point with obvious feeling, for Hamilton is singularly rich in its natural and architectural possessions. He gave a number of items which, in his opinion, established civic distinction: geographical features, parks, symphony orchestras, botanic gardens, zoos, sports teams. These are the things that are remembered, these

are some of the ingredients that establish one city as being different from another, that maintain pride of place among inhabitants and reputation among travellers.

Examples of Action

A thorough stocktaking of architectural inheritance is urgently needed for every city, and this can be stimulated by Chambers of Commerce, and Downtown Renewal organizations. The results of such research can be surprising. A systematic exploration of the City of Lincoln is now under way as part of the Civic Design course at the University of Nebraska, where students are encouraged to identify and record scenes and structures which they select as seeming to have merit, and consider how many of these items would look if stripped of the layers of commercial crustacia. This initial exercise in observation and selectivity has already shown that the architectural environment is much richer than previously supposed, and a record is now being compiled which will be available as a means of demonstration and explanation. At least it will be known what has been lost and what is being destroyed in the name of renovation, and evidence will be at hand upon which to base appeals, and to arouse public sympathy.

There is nothing new in this matter of selecting, re-using and maintaining that which is good. William Morris was the first to foresee the problem in England and to rally friends to the defence of valuable architecture, and his foundation, The National Trust, has grown and served to save for some three-quarters of a century. Meanwhile, a variety of other societies, and organizations, private and governmental, have come into being, but these remain impoverished because public opinion is not yet stirred sufficiently either to pay directly for their support or to justify larger treasury grants for official action.

There can be no substitute for the local societies, they possess the enthusiasm, the earnestness of purpose and often considerable knowledge, but they may lag for lack of recognition and encouragement, and inevitably they are financially weak. These groups can raise the alarm, they can badger for action, but of themselves they can seldom act. They can be the self-appointed watchdogs of the civic scene, and

can often associate with other learned societies and scholastic institutions in pressing for some objective.

A second group, the national organizations, include, as in Britain, professional and popular planning associations, the Ancient Monuments Society, the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings, the Georgian Group, the Victorian Society; each is dedicated, as the name suggests, to particular periods. The Civic Trust has recently been created for the express purpose of stimulating and coordinating action between such bodies and of dealing with a multitude of general matters of environmental improvement outside the scope of these specialized societies. In the short period of its existence The Civic Trust has achieved some important successes and its reputation and influence stand high. The refurbishing of whole streets in several different cities, under qualified guidance, has been successfully carried out and the results are so impressive that more than two hundred municipalities have already applied for guidance and a detailed program. Private enterprise, for the removal of military camp site wreckage and other war debris (an obligation long ignored by the Service Departments), has received assistance, but the most significant action to date is, without doubt, the provision of legal and technical aid in defence of civic seemliness, either on behalf of individuals or municipalities. The Ministerial Appeal in respect of proposals for the rebuilding of part of Piccadilly Circus became a *cause célèbre* as a result of the successful intervention of The Civic Trust. Not only were the best opinions brought to give evidence, but the whole issue was widely reported in unprecedented detail and was eagerly followed by the public.

A third group consists of various government departments charged with the maintenance of parliament buildings, places, historic edifices, parks and conservation areas and for the distribution of funds to private owners to help maintain their buildings on the understanding that the public be then admitted to enjoy what has been saved on their behalf.

All these agencies exist; many have functioned for years, and it is unthinkable that their activities should be curtailed. Thus we do not have to appeal for the formation of such organizations, but rather to stir them to further action as a social necessity.

In the past, many philanthropic individuals have inherited, purchased, maintained, endowed, and given properties of all kinds for public delight. The present and future value of such intelligent action is quite beyond computation, and we can only be grateful in spirit and fierce in guardianship. Taxation has now reduced the chances of such generosity by individuals, and therefore collective effort becomes imperative either by societies or by great corporations and businesses anxious to identify themselves with some place or purpose.

Those interested in the philanthropic aspect of acquisition, control and maintenance of major features, both scenic and historic are recommended to read *A Contribution to the Heritage of Every American, The Conservation Activities of John D. Rockefeller, Jr.*, 1957. This records an astonishing series of achievements which should be closely examined as an example for emulation by Canadian industrialists, large and not so large, as a means of enriching their neighbourhood, and of continuing the patronage once carried out by the individual.

What Can Be Done?

It is a relief to avoid the odium of telling others what to do by referring instead to what has already been accomplished, and pleading for further efforts in support of those already doing their best.

There can no longer be any dispute as to whether or not environmental features, scenic and historic, are of interest to the public and consequently of value to the community. This is now a factor of prime planning importance.

There can be no doubt of the extent of the technical interest now existing; the many societies dedicated to these purposes, and also the mass of literature being steadily produced, proclaim that this is no mere momentary movement of malcontents, even though their expressions may be more plaintive than positive. Leadership and experience is ready and responsive in any attempt to establish "environmental culture" as a distinct feature in educational and civic affairs.

As to the public response, the holiday traffic, the attendance records at scenic and historic resorts of all kinds should be sufficient to show that the post-war trend of popular recreation is consistent.

Furthermore, if the present prosperity (within uncertainty) continues, the amount of leisure will increase, the freedom of movement will increase, and therefore the need for space and for instructional recreation is bound to intensify.

These factors are certainties, and it is upon these that I venture to suggest the following actions to meet the Canadian dilemma of environmental conditions which were so ably reported on by the Committee of Enquiry previously mentioned.

1. STOCKTAKING. An area by area assembly of material by some central agency supported by Federal funds is proposed that will result in a Canadian Panoramic Record. This stocktaking should not be confined to buildings alone but should include groups, scenes, landscapes and natural features of park potential. This is a National rather than a Provincial issue since standardization of records, coordination, staff and funds are more easily provided if the effort is centralized. Because of the importance of such a record to planning and social agencies, it is not recommended that the compilation should depend upon schools of architecture. The subject is one of National recreational resources in general, of which architecture is but one facet. The proper place for the founding and coordination of such a bureau is within the principal educational establishment for physical planning — yet to be created.

2. EDUCATION. Enthusiasm may be sufficient to start some enterprise, but it is not enough to sustain it for long — it must be supported and rekindled by scholarship. Particular emphasis should now be given in both the Architectural and Planning schools to the appreciation and analysis of the local scene, with the express intention of developing interest and judgement in the selection of that which is or will be of value.

In dealing with items of historical interest, the Committee of Enquiry into Residential Environment recommends that "those Provinces not now doing so should take specific steps to preserve good historic buildings, if necessary to find new uses for them, and to compensate their owners in whatever way is fairest in

the circumstances; further, that redevelopment authorities and their architects make every effort to retain the values these old buildings represent for future citizens; and that architects study the techniques of the preservation of buildings and with this and their other abilities support the Institute's committee* and voluntary bodies dedicated to keeping the best of our architectural inheritance." This pre-supposes, of course, that there exist some records to show what is relatively worthy of protection.

Instruction on the subject of maintaining older fabrics is essential, but it will be regarded as a specialty rather than as a regular item in architectural design training. Such instruction must also emphasize re-uses for old structures other than mere passive preservation as the Committee's report appears to imply.

The setting up of a specialist course devoted to the study of Canadian Architectural History, its varieties, its structural care and problems of re-use would now seem to be justified. It is not out of proportion to plead for one post-graduate course of two years duration to provide this service for the whole nation.

3. INVERSION OF EDUCATIONAL EMPHASIS. The time has also come, however, for the total revision of the conventional establishment of schools of Architecture containing departments of Planning, both Urban and Regional, and possibly lesser departments of Landscape.

This peculiar and time-honoured arrangement where that which can never be more than the detail of the panorama, Architecture, is endowed with pre-eminence is no longer valid. No amount of attention to detail is sufficient if the meaning of the landscape is misunderstood.

Nothing less than a Canadian Institute of Planning Technology will now suffice, wherein a balanced program of the statics and dynamics of planning are developed, with Regional Planning — Urban Planning, Transportation and Agriculture forming interdependent quadrants of specialized study, all springing from a common first year course in Landscape Comprehension.

* *Royal Architectural Institute of Canada: Committee of Enquiry into the Design of Residential Environment.*

The Canadian Panoramic Record and a course of Canadian Architectural History would rightly belong within such an Institute, being regarded as a record of a National Resource, along with recreational potentialities.

Time, as always in matters of planning, is short, and it is more than curious how frequently that which is most meritorious is demolished. Indeed, so frequently is this the case, whether it be structure or view, that I recommend a precise and conclusive description for that which is of the highest quality — *good enough to destroy*. Measure your environment in terms of this phrase and see how often it is proved to be true — that will give you the degree of urgency which now prevails.

What Do We Mean By "Housing"?

by

ROBERT F. LEGGET

HOUSING is a major factor in the Canadian economy, and a matter of widespread public interest. Despite the fact that over a million dwellings have been completed in Canada since the end of the war, one home in almost every three having been built in these post-war years, the demand for new housing continues and gives promise of being intensified in the years immediately ahead. The Royal Commission on Canada's Economic Prospects, in its report of 1957, estimated that in the succeeding twenty-five years 3,700,000 new homes would have to be built in this country. It has been pointed out by the President of Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation that if present patterns of urban development, with emphasis on the single family house, continue during the next twenty-five years, 2500 square miles of land now used generally for farming on the fringes of cities would have to be taken over for housing.

All too often, in discussions of the state of housing in Canada today, one hears strong complaints about "the cost of housing" frequently associated with derogatory comparisons of the Canadian situation with that in other countries, Scandinavia being often held up as an example of a part of the world where "they know what to do about housing". Unfortunately, that word "housing" is rarely, if ever, defined in such general talk. It may therefore be useful to explore just what is meant by the word, if only to see what a variety of problems such an attempt at definition will suggest. Merely to list these problems will show that there is no quick and easy answer to the housing dilemma. Rather is it one of the most complex aspects of the physical side of modern living, well worthy of careful study by all interested citizens, as is so well demonstrated by the devotion of so large a part of this issue of the *Queen's Quarterly* to review papers in this general field.

If housing involved merely the provision of a roof over one's head, there would be no problem to discuss. There probably never

was a time when so simple a concept was involved. Did not the prophet Haggai (1:4) show this with his cry of over two thousand years ago . . . *Is it time for you, O ye, to dwell in your cieled houses, and this house lie waste?* . . . Modern variants of this question would involve the trend to two-garage houses, two bathroom houses, split-level houses (on level building sites) and similar unquestioning acceptance of the latest housing fashions promoted, at least in part, by the more popular type of housing magazines with their features and their advertising concentrating upon glamour-houses far beyond the economic potential of the majority of their readers.

Should this seem too hard a saying, consider the recent experience of two house builders in eastern Canada, each of whom built, speculatively, groups of attractive houses on adjacent areas in a newly developed residential district. Both were good builders; both had good reputations. One of them, however, had the inspiration to place some extra large mirrors in the bathrooms of each of his houses, adding to his sales prices rather more than the cost of the mirrors. All of his houses were sold before his fellow builder had sold the first of his — and this at a time of high housing demand. Clearly, therefore, it is not just accommodation that is involved when housing is discussed.

What are the essential elements of housing? Of prime importance is the amount of space provided for each family. This may be expressed as the number of habitable rooms in a residence, but more effectively as the total floor area of usable space that a home contains. Closely associated with space is the equipment for essential services that is provided integral with the residence — for heating, cooking and washing, for personal sanitation, and (in these days) possibly for the disposal of household waste. There must next be considered the overall style of housing accommodation, style not in an architectural sense but as differentiating between single family houses, duplex arrangements of houses, small blocks of apartments, and large multi-storey apartment blocks, the "high-houses" that so dominate post-war European housing. Finally, although not so obvious a factor, but one of great importance, is the location of the housing — in a developed city area, an outlying suburb or in a rural community.

To these physical variations, there must be added two other variants, unseen and all too often neglected in popular discussion but the real determinants of the true cost of housing. The cost of money as expressed by the interest rates on loans is the first of these economic determinants. The second is the period that is permitted under loan arrangements for the effective amortization of the first cost of the residence or, as it is sometimes expressed, the depreciation period. Only when these two factors are known can any estimate of the *true* cost of housing be determined.¹ By true cost is meant the total *annual* cost of housing, this total being made up of the interest on the total first cost with an allowance for annual depreciation, average annual maintenance cost, the expenditure on operating essential services such as heating and lighting, the annual taxes through which are paid essential community services such as water, roads, schools and fire protection, together with some allowance for differential transportation costs in the case of housing appreciably removed from working locations.

This is a formidable list. Only by a wild flight of the imagination can the thought be entertained of even a few of these many factors being considered by the average Canadian citizen as he approaches the quite critical step of "buying a house". A mere glance at the advertisements for any new housing development will show the almost universal practice of thinking of house purchase in terms of a total capital cost, of which a certain percentage must be paid as an initial down payment. The way in which the provisions of the National Housing Act are necessarily applied, by Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation and major mortgage lenders, is a reflection of this practice which quite naturally leads the man in the street to think of housing in terms of first cost only. Fortunately for him, the *Housing Standards* to which all N.H.A. houses must conform automatically impose some regulation of maintenance and operating costs, even though their prime function is probably to protect the equity of the mortgagee while, at the same time, ensuring a safe minimum standard for house construction in Canada.

¹ Legget, R.F. "The Cost of Housing" *The Engineering Journal* (Montreal), v.42, pp. 55-61, January 1959.

Amongst the requirements of almost all housing standards, certainly of those in use in Canada today, are minimum floor areas. The figures for individual rooms currently in use for N.H.A. purposes, when combined, limit the size of a three-bedroom house to about 650 sq. ft. This means a total floor area for a house of roughly 20 ft. \times 32 ft. Let the reader compare this with the size of his own house and he may the better appreciate why it is that practically no houses have been built with N.H.A. assistance that have floor areas as low as this minimum requirement. This fact is in strange contrast with the all-too-common condemnation of "building codes" as restricting the construction of "low cost homes for Canadians". One must look elsewhere for the impediments to lower cost housing.

If this assertion is puzzling, consider the experience of Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation when, a few years ago, they made a real effort to encourage the building of truly minimum houses in the outposts of this country where no social or community pressures exist to warrant any departure from minimum standards. A folder issued in August 1958 (CMHC 1247) described the requirements for "A Minimum House . . . intended primarily for rural areas where municipal services are not available". Some standard features — such as bathrooms, basements and electrical wiring — could be omitted.

With three bedrooms, a minimum total floor area of 878 square feet was permitted. Working drawings for an attractive house meeting these minimum standards were made available for \$10.00. This whole project was designed to answer vociferous demands for assistance to those in the outposts with their special housing problem; however, very few houses have yet been built to these standards. Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation now has available a total of 11 house designs with floor areas of less than 900 square feet and yet during the period of January 1959 to April 1960 only 1800 such units were built under the National Housing Act.

Against the background provided by such an illuminating experience consider now the space requirements of other countries, as imposed by their national housing loan organization. In Norway, for example, the maximum area for a single family dwelling that is to

qualify for a state loan — not the minimum — is 80 square metres or about 860 square feet. This is typical of the relatively small areas required in all four countries of Scandinavia for minimum accommodation, areas much below current Canadian practice but rarely mentioned in the usual comparative statements.

In Great Britain, the *average* area for a three-bedroom "local authority" house, which may be regarded as minimum cost British housing, is said to be just over 900 square feet: 770 square feet for two-bedroom houses. For two-bedroom flats, built to corresponding standards, the average area is about 680 square feet (three-bedroom flats of this type are unusual).² Almost at the other side of the world is some of the finest and aesthetically most satisfying public housing that the writer has been privileged to see in his travels. This is the work of the Singapore Improvement Trust. Starting with two storey row housing, the Trust has progressed through various stages to large, and singularly fine looking blocks of flats up to nine storeys high. Admittedly designed for an equable climate, and for the use of Malayan and Chinese workers and their families previously accustomed to sub-standard housing, the fact that floor areas of 409 square feet for two bedroom accommodation and 593 square feet for three bedroom have been used is still of some significance.

None of these references is meant to suggest, or even to infer that Canadian citizens should be asked to accept these lower sizes for normal family accommodation. It is clear, on the contrary, that Canadians are not willing to accept even the minimum figure in their own standards as one of the most direct methods of reducing housing costs. It follows, however, that when discussing "housing" and its cost, any comparative statement relating to practice in other countries must take into account the variation in the actual areas of accommodation provided per family if such comparisons are to be valid and helpful in contributing to public discussion of the Canadian housing problem.

The incident of the mirrors, trivial though it may seem to be, is yet indicative of trends regarding the equipment demanded in new

² Stone, P.A., *The Economics of Housing and Urban Development*, *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society, Series A* (London), v. 122, pp. 417-483, 1959.

housing in Canada today. To attempt to sell a house without a tiled bathroom would be to essay the impossible; even relatively modest houses are now provided with two toilets, if not indeed two bathrooms, and yet these are requirements to be found in no minimum building codes. Heating appliances have to be "modern", automatic and even aesthetically pleasing to the eye not because of housing standards but rather as a result of advertising and of what the neighbours have. So is it with other equipment now regarded as almost essential in the modern Canadian house. If these trends of the day be compared with what was expected of the pre-war house in Canada, just two decades ago, then it may perhaps be appreciated that, with some allowance for the change in the value of money, Canadian houses of today are relatively cheaper in first cost, or "better value for the money", than those of twenty-one years ago. The first house owned by the writer had no basement and was heated (quite satisfactorily) with two Quebec heaters: how far away that experience now seems.

Despite what has just been said, it will be averred, and it must be admitted, that Canadian housing is still too expensive for the vast majority of citizens. What of the type of housing that is being built? In the last year for which statistics are available (1959), 65.5 per cent of new housing completed in Canada consisted of single family individual houses. This is the type, apparently, that Canadians want. Why they want single family dwellings to such a degree is an interesting sociological question. Modern advertising is at least in part responsible for the wide acceptance of the social standing of the single family house to such a point that residents of one of the wealthier suburbs of a great Canadian city once took legal action to prevent two semi-detached houses from being built in their community. The burden of their complaint was that such a structure would be the start of slum conditions; it is said that the action was thrown out of court, the learned judge observing that he lived in a semi-detached house himself.

Almost paradoxical is the fact that Sweden has recently been looking to Canada for information on the design and building of single family dwellings whereas Canadians in appreciable numbers have been

visiting Sweden for many years to see how the Swedes have achieved such notable progress in low-cost housing. The explanation, given to the writer in Sweden, is that due to their high land costs, the single family dwelling is there regarded as high-cost housing, reliance still being placed upon "high houses" for all lower cost housing there, as also in the other countries of Scandinavia.

Possibly somewhere in between these two extremes lies the answer for housing in Canada. This is suggested by the main conclusion of a recent British housing study to the effect that, in Great Britain "the only block heights which, at current relative costs, appear in general to fulfil this requirement (of reducing overall housing and municipal development costs) are three-, and more doubtfully, four-storey blocks". This study shows clearly the delicate balance that exists between overall costs for developments ranging from those with single family dwellings (at a density of 20 to the acre, 3.5 to the acre being a typical Canadian figure) to 12-storey blocks giving a density of 44 residences per acre.

Even with Canadian costs, and allowing for the efficiency of Canadian building methods (of both single houses and multi-storey buildings), efficiency which the writer has not seen exceeded elsewhere, the balance of direct overall costs will still be a delicate one. That this is coming to be more generally appreciated is shown by the start of such projects as the Regent Park and Jeanne Mance developments in Toronto and Montreal respectively, and by the very modest revival of row-housing, perhaps the most neglected of all potential economic housing developments for Canada, accepting the normal financial arrangements for housing necessitated by the nature of the Canadian economy.

Herein lie the real differences between Canadian (and American) housing practice and that of most European countries (and also of Singapore), major differences in financial standards rather than in technical or construction standards, significant as the latter may be. When one finds housing developments financed with money loaned at rates as low as $1\frac{3}{4}$ per cent, and amortized over periods up to 100 years, as one does in Scandinavia, then comparisons with Canadian

practice (with mortgage rates currently at 7 per cent, and an extension to 30 years of the N.H.A. amortization period a very recent development) — such comparisons are almost meaningless. The figures just cited are admittedly the extreme values yet encountered by the writer but they are not far removed from typical average figures for much of modern Scandinavian housing. They show the effect of governmental interest in housing, substantial subsidies being implicit in the state support for such low interest rates and the long periods permitted for amortization.

When, therefore, "housing" and the cost of housing are discussed, common understanding of the meaning of these terms is clearly desirable. The minimum standards must be known with certainty, especially the floor areas being used, as also the minimum equipment being supplied. The type of housing must similarly be specified if comparative statements are to be meaningful. Above all, the interest rate to be paid and the amortization period required must be recognized as having the determining effect upon the actual cost of housing. This cost will be the cost to the homeowner only if no state subsidy is included. cursory study will show that a change of one per cent in interest rates, accommodation standards being fixed, will have more effect upon actual costs than any technological advances that can now be foreseen. The ratio of labour to material costs for the building of an average house (about 1:1), and the necessary connection of a house to essential services such as water supply and sewers, give strong support to this suggestion.

Indirect costs have so far merely been listed. Most important of these is the extra cost of transportation to and from work for householders who decide to live at appreciable distances from their place of work. A glance from the air at the environs of any major Canadian city will show the importance of this factor, "urban sprawl" being so common a feature of modern municipal development in this country. Paucity of public transportation services, due to competition from the private automobile, intensifies the problem — and also the neglect of this aspect of housing costs, so many people refusing to accept the fact that the use of private automobiles for driving to work costs

money. Even in greater London, with its magnificent transportation system, the same pattern is to be seen (blamed by some on the effects of rent control). It is said that 20,000 people are leaving the county of London every year, the general movement being to towns on the south coast, even though this means the spending of anything up to three and a half hours every day, for travelling to and from work.

Such remarkable waste of time might appear to be a long way from consideration of technical standards for housing, but the two are essential elements in any comprehensive review of the housing problem, at the two ends of the spectrum admittedly, but each of them important. Regulations constitute perhaps the main whipping boy in public discussions of housing. It can be seen, however, that the standards that can be criticized in Canada are not minimum technical requirements but those of current public taste in housing. The place of transportation in the housing picture, on the other hand, is only rarely mentioned even though it increases with significance with every new housing development on the periphery of cities.

The citizen of relatively low income goes to the suburbs to achieve low housing costs and low taxes, even though the appeal of low taxes may be illusory since essential municipal services must eventually be paid for through taxes. He does this at the expense of increased transportation cost, often having to buy a car which then becomes a necessity. How logical it seems to be, therefore, to suggest that at least some lower income city workers should be housed in "high houses" as is so common a practice in Scandinavia, thus alleviating a part of the increasingly complex suburban-urban traffic problem. When, however, the cost of such urban high-density housing is studied, in association with the high cost of privately owned land in city centres, the direct cost of housing is not found to be particularly low. It would appear that only when indirect costs are considered, such as all the costs associated with transportation and traffic, can a more accurate evaluation be made.

This raises a number of difficult social and political questions, quite apart from any possibility of state assistance in achieving lower housing costs. In this complex picture, it is clear that housing standards

constitute but one of many contributing factors. Technical requirements for housing must be good and must be reasonable. The main questions regarding the future of housing, however, in this and in other countries, lie in other directions. Answers must be found to them, and in the near future, if only because a realistic estimate for the number of new homes required throughout the world, before this century comes to a close (as estimated by a leading European student of building and building research, J. van Ettinger of the Netherlands, in his book *Towards a Habitable World*) is one thousand million.

Transportation In The Modern Metropolis

by

H. BLUMENFELD

The Metropolitan area, a new form of human settlement

Used as we are to thinking in terms of "cities" and "suburbs", we sometimes fail to grasp the implications of the emergence of a new form of human settlement which is going on before our very eyes. For 5000 years and more mankind has lived primarily in two forms of settlement: the town and the rural village. The vast majority of the world's population everywhere lived in "the country" and it was there that most of the world's work was done. Only a small ruling and guiding "élite" and those immediately serving them lived in "the city".

Only about 200 years ago this pattern began to change under the impact of the process known as "the industrial revolution", that is the application of the scientific method to material production, resulting in rapidly growing productivity, ever increasing division and specialization of labour and, as a corollary, ever increasing interdependence and exchange of goods and services.

Transportation played and plays a key rôle in this process. By the middle of the 19th century the new means of long-distance, inter-urban, transportation and communication — the steamboat, the railroad, and the electric telegraph — made possible the concentration of industrial production in big cities which grew rapidly by a vast migration from the countryside. But within these great agglomerations movement of persons, goods and messages continued to proceed on foot or on hoof, limiting their size generally to a radius of three to four miles. The result was the densely built up "big city" where factories, residences, and all other uses were crowded close together.

Only towards the end of the 19th century did new means of short-distance, intra-urban, transportation and communication become general: electric traction, applied to street cars and to trains travelling on their own grade separated rights-of-way, and the telephone; soon to be followed by the internal combustion engine, applied to passenger

cars, trucks and buses, as well as by radio and television. The boundary set by the distance which could be daily travelled on foot and on hoof was broken; the concentrated "big city" proved to be a transitory phenomenon, due only to the half-century time-lag between the impact of the industrial revolution on inter-urban and on intra-urban communications.

The country-to-city movement of population continues, all over the world, and stronger than ever. But this centripetal wave is now being met by a second, centrifugal "city-to-suburb" wave. The combined result of these two-movements is the modern metropolitan area, or "metropolis" for short, which is emerging as the predominant form of human settlement in every section of the globe, but has developed farthest on the North American continent. It differs radically from the city as we have known it throughout history. As did its precursor, the 19th century "big city", it combines the traditional "central" ruling and organizing function of the town with the function of the major seat of material production. Not only are the populations of the modern metropolitan areas several times greater than those of even the largest pre-industrial cities, but their daily activities are spread out over a far wider territory; and this territory includes not only "urban", but also extensive "open" areas: parks, golf courses, airfields, even farms and forests. The modern metropolis is indeed "neither city nor country". Finally, it is characterized by separation of places of residence from places of work. Corresponding to the dual function of the metropolis as a "regional centre" and as a place of industrial production for a national and international market, commercial, governmental, and cultural establishments tend to locate in a "central area", while manufacturing, warehousing and transportation establishments locate in various "industrial districts".

The spatial relations between these four basic land uses: residential areas, industrial districts, central area, and open (primarily recreational) areas determine the needs for intra-urban transportation, while the location of the transportation facilities in turn determines the pattern of spatial distribution. Some guiding principles of this pattern can be formulated.

The functional pattern of the metropolis

As stated, the basic "raison d'être" of the modern metropolis is the need for co-operation and communication resulting from the division of labour. Only the large metropolis offers to the highly specialized worker, in particular in the professional and managerial groups, a wide choice of employment, and to the employer a wide choice of highly specialized workers. Primarily the metropolis is a labour market, a place for making a living. This also sets its limits. It is a commuting area, extending as far as daily commuting is possible, and no farther. Under present North American conditions this means a radius up to 30 or 40 miles, or an area 100 times as large as that of the 19th century "big city". Within this area the land-use pattern and the transportation system should maximize mutual choice of place of employment and of persons employed by *maximizing the possibility of commuting*; but should also, in order to minimize travel time and cost, *minimize the need for commuting*.

This makes it desirable to provide, within every major section of a metropolitan area, an approximate equilibrium between resident labour force and places of employment. Analysis of available data shows clearly that the percentage of residents of an area who work in different employment areas, and vice versa, decreases regularly with increasing distance between places of work and places of employment. It is therefore evident that by co-ordination of their location commuting can be minimized; it is, however, an illusion to believe that it can be eliminated, that planning can create a pattern in which "everybody walks to work". In the free choice of place of work (and of residence) many other motives are far stronger than the desire to minimize the journey to work. In Hudson County, N.J., for instance, an urbanized area of 44 square miles within the New York Metropolitan Area, there were, in 1960, 244,000 jobs and 233,000 employed residents, as close to a "balance" as one can ever hope to achieve. But over 35 per cent of those employed in Hudson County commuted "in" from other counties, and 32 per cent of the residents commuted "out". Similar patterns were evidenced by a survey made in 1954 in Metropolitan Toronto, which also found that less than 21½ per cent of all respondents walked to work.

In small towns the percentage of those walking and generally living close to their place of work is, of course, higher. But the percentage of those who have to make very long trips, over 10 miles, is also higher. A survey made by the U.S. Bureau of Public Roads in 1951 in six midwestern and southern states found that in towns of 25,000 and over only 6 per cent had such long journeys to work, in smaller places 14 per cent, and in rural areas 29 per cent. In such small places those who cannot find satisfactory employment locally have only the choice of commuting over long distances to other places or of pulling up stakes and moving to another town. It is one of the great advantages of the metropolis that one can change one's employment without changing one's residence.

But the metropolis is not only a place for making a living, but also for living. Ebenezer Howard, the father of the "Garden City" concept, stated that man is attracted by two "magnets": Town and Country. Whatever one may think of Howard's therapy, his diagnosis is certainly correct. Hence a second pair of contradictory traffic requirements: *access to the city centre and access to the periphery, to "open country"*.

The rôle of the centre, usually somewhat narrowly defined as the Central Business District, or "C.B.D.", is changing. In the 19th century with its limited facilities of intra-urban transportation, it had been the preferred location for all activities. Since that time there has been an increasing and still continuing shift from activities dealing with goods — manufacturing and warehousing, and, to a lesser extent, retailing — to those dealing with persons, primarily the wide and growing array of business services and, to a lesser extent, of consumer services. These "tertiary" industries, typically carried on in offices, proliferating with increasing specialization, serving a wide region, and dependent on contact with each other as well as with their widely dispersed customers, are even more characteristic of the modern metropolis than is manufacturing. In view of their rapid growth it is surprising to find that in the largest metropolitan areas in the United States employment in the C.B.D. and traffic into and out of that area has not increased during the last three decades. In Canada this levelling off has occurred later. However, since 1953 the number of per-

sons counted as crossing a cordon line encircling the C.B.D. of Toronto has also remained constant.

The fact that central city traffic — in terms of persons — is not increasing with the growth of metropolitan areas, but levelling off, casts some doubts on the prophecies of doom which predict that "the city will strangle itself by congestion". To a considerable extent the exodus of goods handling activities is, of course, the result of congestion. But it appears to lead not to strangulation of the C.B.D. but rather to its adaptation to those specific functions for which it is best suited.

From the C.B.D. outward the density decreases with amazing regularity in subsequent concentric zones. Over time there is a gradual decrease of residential population density in the inner and a fairly rapid increase in the outer zones. The outgoing wave of population growth has a definite crest, a concentric zone with the highest rate of growth which moves regularly outward. The lines describing the change in population (or density) of all concentric zones follow, one after another, a logistic curve, gradually levelling off after a period of most rapid growth. But — and this is of decisive importance — in each subsequent zone the levelling off occurs at a lower overall density. This regular falling off of densities toward the periphery holds true not only for residential, but for all land uses. Industry and commerce also require increasing land areas per employed person, the farther from the centre they locate. Employment density in new outlying industrial districts may be as much as 20 times lower than in old industrial areas near the centre.

Traffic movements

This pattern of distribution of land use, population, and employment, the result of transportation, in turn determines the pattern of movement of goods and persons. We will deal here only with the latter. Traffic surveys made during the past few years in Metropolitan Toronto indicate that the inhabitants of that area made an average of 1.6 trips per capita on an average workday, with an average trip length of close to $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles, or about 7 miles per person, within the boundaries of the Metropolitan Municipality. Thus the $1\frac{1}{2}$ million

inhabitants of that area travelled, by mechanical means, a total of about 10 million miles daily, an average of over 4000 miles per square mile. By far the most (60.3 per cent) and also the longest, of these trips, were made to or from work. Somewhat less than one-sixth (15.5) were made for social or recreational purposes, only one-tenth were shopping trips, one out of twenty were made for business, and the remaining tenth for other purposes, primarily education. The great majority of these trips were made from or to the home, but about one-sixth were made between two points other than home. Almost two out of five of these were for the purpose of "work", indicating the great number of persons — presumably businessmen, salesmen, repairmen — who had to travel in performance of their work. Actually there was one of these "second or subsequent" work trips for every six trips from home to work; and their total number exceeded the commonly overrated number of trips from home to shopping. Surveys in the U.S.A. reveal generally similar patterns.

Private and public transportation

All these trips are made either by public transit or by private car, and their optimal distribution between these two modes of transportation is the most vexing problem of the modern metropolis.

In an unexpected reversal of a secular trend the invention of the internal combustion motor has led, during the last 40 years, to a growing displacement of public by private transportation. In both the United States and Canada travel by private automobile now absorbs about 10 per cent of the Gross National Product, and in both countries accounts for at least 85 per cent of all person-miles in inter-urban travel and for a steadily increasing percentage of intra-urban movements. The spread of the private automobile has made the operation of public transit more difficult in three ways. First, by depriving it of a substantial portion of its passengers, it has decreased its vehicle load, necessitating either higher fares or a curtailing of service, or both, leading to further decrease in passengers. Second, by congesting the street surface which it shares with transit vehicles, it has slowed down transit movement, thereby increasing its cost of operation and decreasing its attractiveness. Third — most fundamental and least

understood — the private car has created a pattern of low density development which can no longer be served by public transportation because it becomes impossible to assemble a sufficient payload on any one line.

Under the impact of these three factors public transit has lost ground since the end of the war. In the U.S. the number of transit rides per capita dropped by more than two-thirds between 1945 and 1959. In part this was a return to pre-war patterns which had been temporarily disrupted through shortages of cars and of gasoline. But the trend is continuing: from 1954 to 1959 in a period of rapid urban population growth, the number of transit riders decreased by 59 per cent; in towns with a population under 100,000 by 70 per cent. In Canada the decline has been much slower, but equally consistent, averaging about 3 per cent annually since 1954. As the service offered is being curtailed only very slightly, this implies a continuing drop in the number of passengers per vehicle mile, the most important factor in economy of operation. This ratio has dropped in Canada from 7.4 passengers per vehicle mile in 1946 to 5.3 in 1960, but is still substantially higher than the U.S. average of 4.25. The generally better performance of transit in Canada is probably the effect as well as the cause of lower fares.

Nevertheless, a 3 per cent absolute decrease in the face of a rapidly rising urban population indicates a rapid decrease of the share of public transit in total daily traffic. The vicious circle of decreased riding, higher cost per rider, decreasing service and increased fares, and resulting further decrease in riding, has clearly started. In many smaller communities in the U.S. and in some in Canada this vicious circle has run its full course and led to exclusive reliance on the private automobile.

It is hardly necessary to dwell here on the many reasons which have led to the rapid and continuing growth in car ownership. It may however be worth mentioning that nobody knows exactly how many cars are actually at the disposal of the inhabitants of a community at a given time. There are two sources: the annual car registrations, and the decennial census counts of cars owned by households which

yield substantially lower figures. The annual registrations include all cars which are held for sale by dealers, all those which go to the scrap heap during the year, plus a possible surplus (or deficit) of cars sold to over those bought from other communities. As a result registration may overstate the number of cars actually available for operation at any given date by as much as 15 per cent. On the other hand, the census counts do not include cars registered in the name of businesses, cars for rent, and taxis. In Metropolitan Toronto, for instance, the number of registered cars per household at the present time (1960) slightly exceeds the number of households. Yet the 1961 census will probably show that about 30 per cent of all households — many of them containing second families or lodgers — have no car (in 1951 over 40 per cent had no car).

The Chicago Area Transportation Study estimates that in 1980 still 13 per cent of all "spending units" in their area, as well as in the U.S. will have no car, while the number of families with two or more cars may increase from 10 per cent to 23 per cent. Car ownership in Canada is not likely to exceed these figures during the next 20 years. Considering that different members of each family have to make different trips at the same time, it is evident that there is continuing public interest in providing transportation for a large group of citizens who have no private car at their disposal. But, in addition, growing street congestion and shortage of parking space make it evident that any attempt to solve the urban traffic problem by the private car alone is likely to be self-defeating. To the cost of streets and parking spaces and of the time losses of public transit vehicles, pedestrians, and the private cars themselves as a result of congestion have to be added the cost of accidents, of air pollution, and of nervous wear and tear. Finally, the private car is not an all-weather means of transportation. In heavy snow or dense fog only rail transportation on its own right-of-way, in particular in a subway, can move on schedule.

For all these reasons there has been in recent years a growing willingness to maintain and improve public transit by public action. There is, however, less clarity about the rôle which private and public transportation, respectively, are best suited to play.

The rôle of various modes of transportation

It is not too difficult to define the rôle which various means of transportation are best suited to play. The decisive factor is the density in the zones of origin and of destination of the trips.

The private automobile must serve all movements within low density areas, including travel to work in outlying factories, and travel to rapid transit and railroad stations. In addition, it must serve movements in medium density areas in unusual directions and/or at unusual times. Finally, those people who use their cars to move about during business hours have to bring them to the downtown concentration during the day.

Public surface transportation serves most movements in medium density areas, including feeder movements to rapid transit and suburban railroad stations, short and medium length movements from medium density areas to the high density downtown area, and very short movements within the downtown area.

Rapid transit serves long and some medium distance movements within medium density areas, most movements from medium density areas and some from low density areas to the downtown area, and in addition, also movements within the downtown area.

Suburban railroad lines mostly serve the movement from the more distant low density areas to the downtown area. These may travel directly to the downtown area or by transfer to rapid transit lines.

If, where, and when major outlying concentrations are developed, these may also be connected with the downtown area by rapid transit or suburban railroads.

The distinction made here between "rapid transit" and "suburban railroad lines" does not necessarily refer to the operating agencies, but rather to the type of service. The former operates on headways from 90 seconds to five minutes, the latter generally on headways from 10 minutes to one hour.

"Medium" densities are here defined as those with residential densities between 7,000 and 25,000 persons per square mile.

Public transportation requires concentration of trips not only in space, but also in time. If 1000 persons want to travel from point A to point B during the same five-minute period, it is obviously more

rational to carry them in one train than in 700 cars, each carrying one or two persons. If the same 1000 persons make their trips between the same two points during 200 different such periods, they will have to use their cars.

The main concentrations in time occur, of course, during the morning and evening rush hours, as a result of the journey to and from work. It is therefore not surprising to find that transit loads are increasingly concentrated at these hours, while the private car has become more and more predominant for trips at other hours and on week-ends. While generally not more than 20 per cent of all person-miles in private cars are made during the two morning and two evening rush hours of the five weekly workdays, about 50-60 per cent of all transit rides are concentrated during these periods. This means that structures — very expensive in case of rapid transit — vehicles, and personnel are fully used only during 20 out of the 168 weekly hours during which they have to be maintained.

In Metropolitan Toronto, in 1959, about two-thirds of all trips were made by private car and one-third by transit. However, while only one out of five trips for social and recreational purposes was made by transit, two out of five of the trips from home to work were transit trips. Of the trips most highly concentrated in space and time, the rush hour trips to and from the C.B.D., transit still accounted for over 70 per cent, the same percentage as in 1929.

It is evident that private and public transportation fulfill different purposes. Movement into and out of the centre is best served by transit and within the centre by walking. However, private cars cannot be completely barred from the centre, because many of the people working there need them for the performance of their work. Probably the only feasible way to limit their number is rationing by price, by raising fees for parking, in particular all-day parking, in the C.B.D. well above the price for parking at outlying stations of rapid transit and suburban railroad lines. The remaining road traffic should interfere as little as possible with pedestrian movement. This can be achieved to some extent by creating "pedestrian islands", as has been done, on a temporary basis, in Ottawa and in a number of small American towns, and permanently in some European cities, notably

Rotterdam and Coventry. Complete elimination of the conflict between vehicular and pedestrian traffic by creation of a second, upper level has been proposed for Fort Worth, Texas. The idea is far from new; in fact, it was universally practiced by our lake-dwelling ancestors more than 2000 years ago; and the last, greatest and most glorious of the lake dwellers settlements, Venice, demonstrates to this day its attractiveness. Leonardo da Vinci developed a plan for a city with streets on two levels, and many similar proposals have been advanced from time to time; but so far none has been realized.

Decisive for the potential of public transit to attract riders is, in addition to speed (including headways), comfort, and price, the connection between its stations or stops and the points of ultimate origin and destination of its passengers. The great attraction of the private car is its ability to provide door-to-door service. Public transportation must always rely on some second means to assemble and distribute its riders. These means are walking, driving a private car to and from a parking facility at a station, and riding other transit vehicles and transferring. In the C.B.D.'s of big cities large numbers of passengers, sufficient to support rapid transit trains at frequent headways, can be assembled and distributed by a combination of walking and the use of elevators, a means of public transportation which is usually not considered as such. In areas of medium densities a sufficient number of passengers can be assembled by walking to support surface transportation by street-car or bus; and by combination of transfer from surface lines and walking, rapid transit stations can be fed. However, this necessitates relatively close spacing of transit stations, resulting in a relatively low travelling speed. It is therefore hardly feasible to extend rapid transit lines of this type far out into the peripheral low density areas, because total travelling time would become too long to be competitive with the private automobile. Also, the loads that can be assembled in these outer areas are too small to justify use of the long and frequent trains which are required on the inner sections of a rapid transit system. These outer areas can be better served by a different system with widely spaced stations, relying for the assembling of its passengers largely on the private automobile, the "park-and-ride" or "kiss-and-ride" method.

Such "combined" trips, using private and public transportation for different parts of the way are possible where the destinations are concentrated so that they can be reached either by walking — destinations in the C.B.D. — or by transferring to the transit system — destinations in the inner, medium-density area. However, where the destinations are dispersed, the private cars appear to be the only feasible means of transportation.

As stated, traffic to and from the centre has levelled off and traffic within the inner ring of medium density is also not increasing. As places of employment disperse, a greater proportion of work trips from these areas is bound to go to dispersed destinations. All future growth of residential population will necessarily occur in the outer rings. If it continues to take place, as it has during the past ten years, at densities averaging about four to five households per acre of residential neighbourhood, it will be impossible to provide it with public transportation even in the main direction toward the centre. However, this type of development is by no means entirely the result of consumer preference, but largely of public policy. The Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation has encouraged home ownership of detached houses on large lots; municipalities have excluded more intensive development by zoning. As the effects of these policies are becoming evident, they are beginning to change and some increase of residential densities in the outer zones may be expected. Even so, it is inevitable that the proportion of all trips which are made by the private automobile will continue to increase because of the increasing dispersal of destinations for employment, shopping, and recreation. Peripheral, "ring" or "by-pass" expressways are required to handle the increasing number of trips to these destinations. While these movements originate and terminate in a multitude of thin streams, they collect for a major part of their way in a mighty flow.

It is more questionable whether radial expressways are desirable, because they tend to pour even more cars into the overloaded streets and parking facilities of the centre. On the other hand, they serve a very useful purpose for trucks, for the considerable number of cars which are needed for use during the working day by persons employed in the C.B.D., and for trips outside of rush hours. However, they

should terminate not in the C.B.D. but in an inner ring which also serves to by-pass the centre; and this ring should be fairly large to permit the location of a sufficient number of interchanges spaced wide enough apart to allow for weaving, acceleration, and deceleration.

Cost and benefits of public and private transportation

Both private and public transportation require substantial investments and large operating cost, and these have to be weighed in assessing their respective rôles.

According to the Gordon Commission, the total cost of a passenger car-mile averaged 10.5 cents. If a transit fare of 15 cents is assumed, this indicates that driving a car without passengers is cheaper for distances up to $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles, with 1, 2, or 3 passengers up to 3, $4\frac{1}{2}$ and 6 miles, respectively. It is therefore evident that in a considerable number of cases it is cheaper for the individual to drive than to ride, even if he figured the total cost. However, about three-quarters of the cost of operating an automobile consists of more or less fixed costs; and, in practice the driver counts only the "out-of-pocket" costs of operation which averages 2.8 cents per mile. So, except when he has to pay for parking, from the point of view of the individual car owner it is always cheaper to drive.

On the other hand, one bus lane carries during a peak hour 5 times, one street-car track 10 times, and one rapid transit track up to 50 times as many persons as an ordinary street lane. About 12 expressway lanes would be required to carry the volume of passengers now carried during peak hours by the Toronto subway. Transit vehicles travel $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 5 times more miles annually than passenger cars. While a private automobile performs about 15,000 person-miles annually, a bus (excl. inter-urban) averages over 500,000, a street-car over 800,000, and a subway car about one and a half million person-miles annually. Thus, despite its underuse during all but the 20 peak hours of the week, one subway car performed as many person-miles as 100 passenger cars — and required no parking space.

These comparisons indicate strongly that the market may not allocate resources in the most rational way to private and public transportation, respectively. As indicated above, the greater part of the cost of operating an automobile consists of fixed costs. If public trans-

portation is to compete with the private car, a substantial portion of its cost will also have to be transformed into fixed costs. The only practical way of doing this is by covering them out of general tax revenues. It might be objected that it is unfair to ask the auto driver to pay for a service which he does not use. However, he benefits from the fact that the transit rider, by leaving his car at home, frees the street for the driver.

Support of public transit out of tax revenues underwrites a deficit, obviously an undesirable procedure; or it assumes responsibility for all or part of the capital cost, in particular of rapid transit lines, while the operating agency must cover the operating cost out of user charges. This militates against a rational weighing of capital versus operating costs and may lead to a curtailment of surface feeder lines which frequently can only be run at an operating loss and to subsequent underutilization of the rapid transit lines and of the capital invested in them. The only sound procedure is for the municipality to pay in accordance with the service performed, that is per passenger-mile or seat mile. This method has now been adopted by the state of New Jersey for subsidizing suburban railroad service.

A strong case could be made for operating public transit as a public service free of charge. This would permit considerably faster loading of buses, resulting in greater speed and consequent economies of operation. There is a precedent for this in vertical public transportation. The entire cost of elevator service in office and apartment buildings is always assessed as a "fixed cost" as part of the rent, regardless of the amount of use of the service by the various tenants.

The question of the relative costs and benefits of the competing modes of transportation requires further research in order to develop a comprehensive transportation system which allocates to each mode its appropriate rôle.

A Survey Of The Daytime Population Of Winnipeg

by

T. R. WEIR

THE demography of most North American cities has been presented largely through the medium of census data. Mapping of urban population has been mostly in terms of residential or night-time population. As a result the central business district is often referred to as having a "relatively low density". Only a daytime census however, can lead to an understanding of the relationship between population and commercial, industrial and institutional areas within cities. Most studies of daytime population before 1940 originated in Europe. The interest centred largely on the movement of people from one city to another or from place of residence to work. Since 1940, the increasing problem of congestion in the centres of most North American cities has prompted many planning boards to initiate population studies in down-town areas. In 1952 the Geographical Branch, Department of Mines and Technical Surveys, Ottawa, initiated a series of studies to ascertain the daytime population of several Canadian cities. Winnipeg was surveyed in 1953 and 1954 and a detailed study of its land use was made in 1955 by the author with a team of geographers.

Practical Application

Because the primary functions of a city relate to industry and commerce, the study of the location and movements of people in the daytime is highly significant to a number of agencies involved in civic administration and planning. Such data is useful in analyzing traffic, public transit, parking, shopping, and public utility needs. It is important also to market research. A retail merchant must weigh the comparative advantage of location in the thronging central business district with that of the less congested neighbourhood shopping centre. The ebb and flow of daytime population is the primary con-

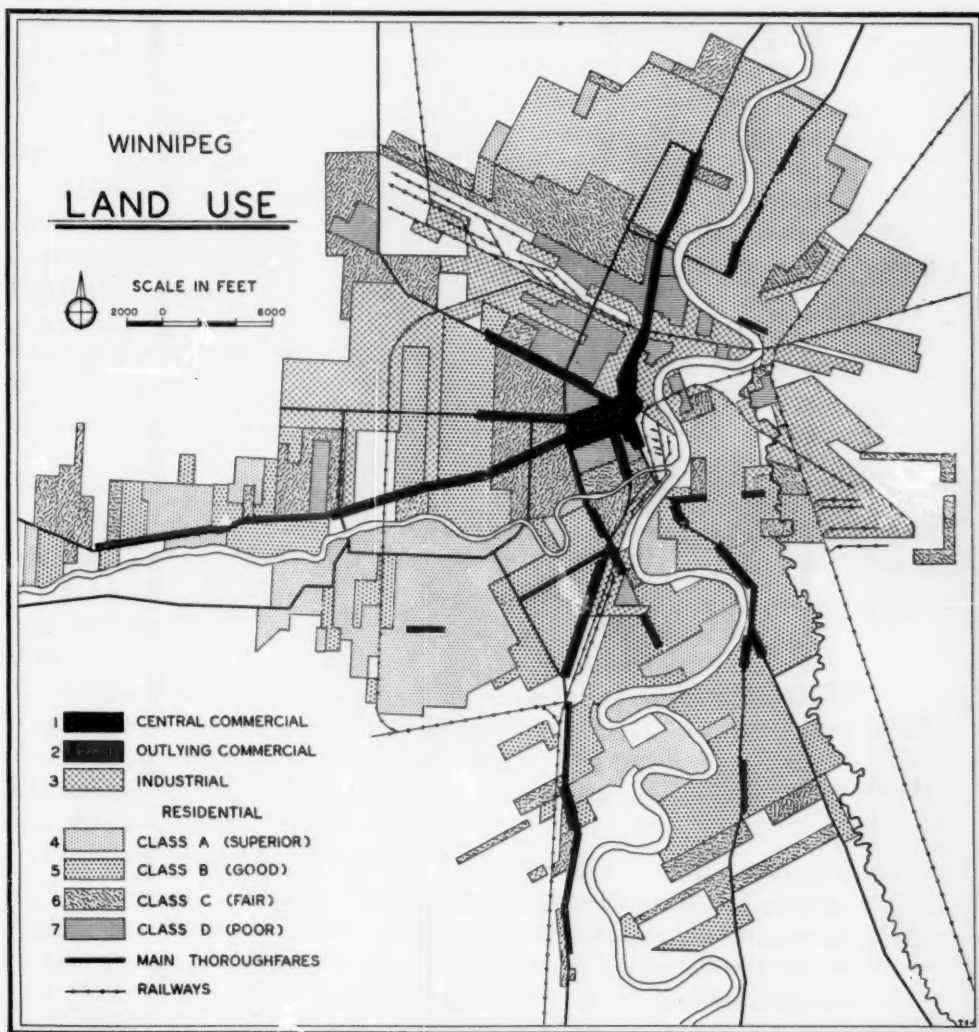


FIGURE 1

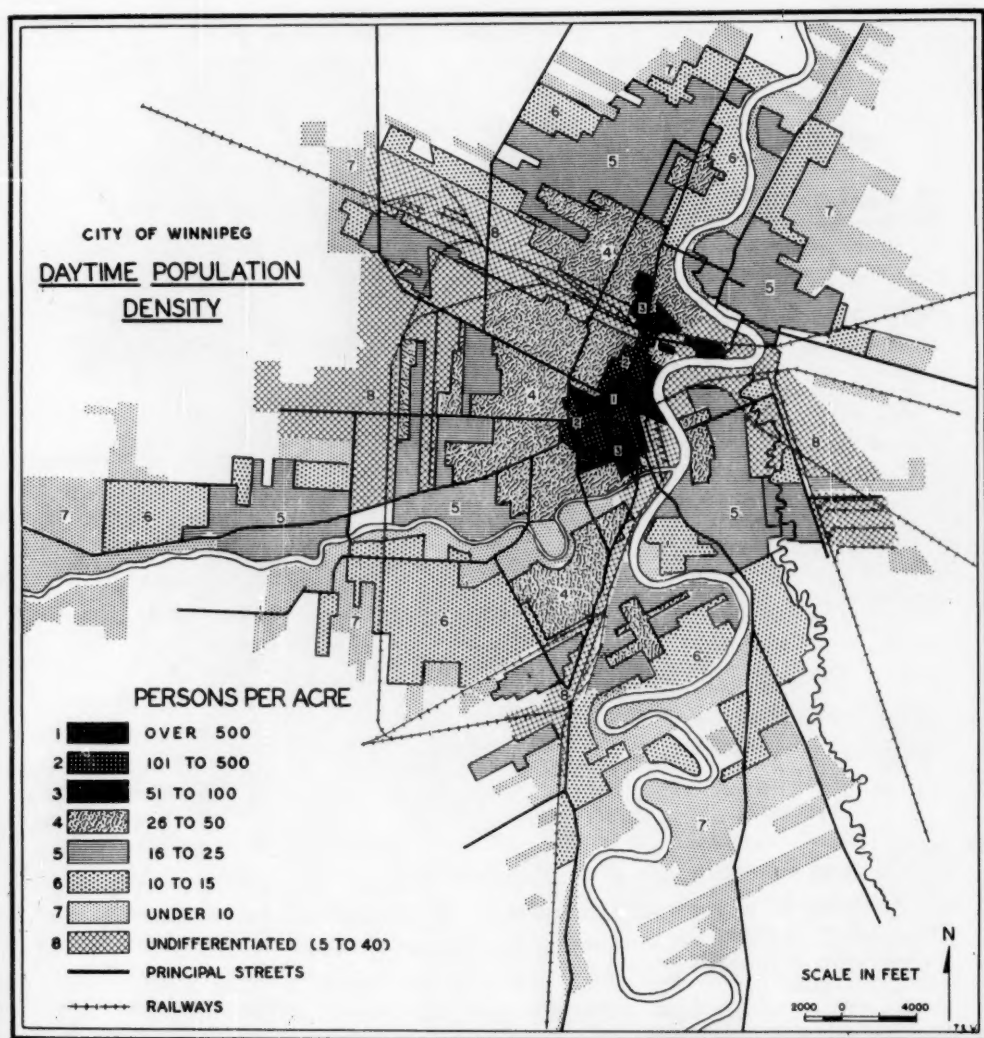


FIGURE 3

cern of the traffic engineer bent on providing the necessary channels. The land appraiser knows well the significance to commercial property values of accessibility in the daytime. Planning for future growth of cities presupposes a knowledge not only of where people spend their nights, but where they prefer to live and work during their days. The location of parks and playgrounds, of schools and public buildings, of "freeways" and parking facilities should be guided by a knowledge of where people are during the times when these facilities are being most used. In civil defence, daytime estimates are essential in planning evacuation procedures, in the location and size of bomb shelters and approximating the number of potential casualties in case of enemy attack. In brief, there is scarcely a public agency or private enterprise that is not to some extent concerned with daytime concentrations and movements of people in the area it serves.

Method of Survey

The population of an urban area during a mid-morning or mid-afternoon period of a typical working day will fall into four groups: (1) residential, (2) institutional, (3) gainfully employed, (4) transient and mobile. The first consists of housewives, pre-school age children and domestic help; the second, those in hospitals, homes for the infirm, reformatories, schools and colleges, etc.; the third group is concentrated in the commercial and industrial zones throughout the city, especially in the central business district. The fourth group consists of shoppers in stores, pedestrians on streets, passengers in public and private vehicles.

Were it possible at a specific time during a typical working day to bring the inhabitants of a metropolitan area to a standstill, and then by means not yet devised make a simultaneous count relative to location, the result would be an accurate census for that particular time. Such is beyond all bounds of practicability. A realistic alternative is to make a canvass of all places where people dwell, work, study and play, and in addition to count transients on streets, in stores and public buildings. Even this would be a task more formidable than the decennial census. Various and ingenious short-cut methods

to estimate daytime population have been proposed such as cordon counts, origin-destination surveys, symptomatic data, and the "component method". A modification of this last method was used in the survey of Winnipeg. The city was divided into zones of similar land use: residential, central commercial, outlying commercial, wholesale, industrial, institutional including schools, hospitals, homes for the infirm, etc. Using the city directory, a survey of every business and industrial establishment was made on a block-by-block basis within the land-use zones. Superintendents of large office buildings, managements of department stores, business and industrial concerns proved cooperative in supplying estimates of numbers found on their premises during a typical working day. Counts were made of pedestrians on streets and in vehicles in the central business district. Transport companies provided information on passengers carried and the traffic department made available vehicle counts at specified hours. In order to arrive at an estimate for residential areas, the Federal Census (1951) was used which sets forth night-time population by census tracts. Typical blocks within each tract were enumerated to discover the numbers usually at home during the daytime. A simple ratio between the daytime and night-time population was thus obtained and this factor was then applied to the night-time population of the entire tract. The various components were totalled and correction made for duplication and recent growth. The daytime population thus found varied only three per cent from the census totals obtained by the municipalities of Greater Winnipeg. This margin of error is considered to be well within the practical limits required for many purposes.

At the same time as the population survey was being made a detailed classification of land use was also carried out. This consisted of segregating the city into its functional zones based on similarity of use, including four residential types based on "desirability for residence".

The results of the survey were set forth on three large scale maps. Distribution was indicated by dots (each dot representing 25 people) within city blocks. Density was indicated by measuring the area of each city block and expressing it as a ratio of the number of people per acre. Street densities were excepted. A detailed land-use map

at a scale of 400 feet to one inch was compiled showing the functional patterns including the four residential classes. Highly generalized versions of these maps are set forth in figures 1-2-3.

Distribution Analysis

Any explanation of the distribution of daytime population must depend on an understanding of the land-use or functional areas of a city. This is to be expected since people in cities are distributed according to occupation, gainful and otherwise. These occupations find direct expression in the land-use map.

Unfortunately the need to generalize reduces the significance of the land-use map (fig. 1), but certain general relationships may be deduced by comparing it with the maps of daytime population (figures 2 and 3).

While the pattern of land use is highly fragmented, it is possible to recognize a concentric pattern. In the centre of the city is the commercial core or central business district "throbbing with activity in the daytime". Here are found 25 per cent of the city's population. This is graphically illustrated in figures 1 and 2.

Emanating from the core are a series of linear commercial streets extending toward the periphery. Although much less congested they account for five per cent of the daytime population. Immediately north of the core extending diagonally in a band across the city, and again southeast of the core following the railway are the major sites of industry and railway yards. Much of it is heavy industry requiring large open spaces with relatively few employed per unit area. Only ten per cent of the city's population is found within this zone. Institutional uses, though not indicated in figure 1, are strikingly portrayed in figure 2 in the form of small, scattered clusters of dots representing schools, hospitals and other institutional buildings. Collectively, this group accounts for 16 per cent of the city's population. By far the largest category, both in areal extent and daytime population, are the four classes of residential constituting 55 per cent of the total. As indicated in figure 2, the pattern becomes progressively thinner toward the edges of the city as vacant land is gradually encroached upon. Immediately adjacent to the core, and tributary to rail yards

and heavy industrial areas is the poor residential (class D). On its outer margin are a better class of dwellings (class C) most, however, being a mixture of single and multiple units. Finally, the more desirable classes B and A comprise the outer tier of residential land-use zones.¹

Density Analysis

A more detailed comparison of daytime population and land use is possible through the use of the density map. Based on the city block as the areal unit, the number of persons per acre was calculated for each. These were later grouped in eight categories as indicated in figure 3. The pattern of densities indicates, as in the case of the dot pattern (figure 2), that the highest densities are found at the core, and that they diminish outward toward the fringes. As in the land-use pattern (figure 1) the zones of density are somewhat fragmented, although in general they are concentrically arranged around the core. The effects of the rivers on residential land use, and of industry in its conformity to rail lines are largely responsible for the irregularities. In accounting for the density patterns reference will be made to the eight zones indicated in figure 3.

Zone One (over 500 persons per acre, excluding those on streets):

Winnipeg has 24 blocks with densities ranging from 500 to 5000 people per acre. Twenty-one blocks lie at the heart of the C.B.D.

¹ Seven criteria were selected in order to distinguish between classes of residential land based on desirability of residence. A numerical value or index (as indicated below) was applied to the typical residences of each city block. The sum of values placed each block of similar dwellings in one of four major classes indicated in figure 1.

<i>Use of Dwelling</i>	<i>Index</i>	<i>Age of Dwelling</i>	<i>Index</i>	<i>Number of Rooms</i>	<i>Index</i>
Single	4	Post War II	4	8 and over	3
Duplex	3	1930-1945	3	5 to 7	2
Multiple	2	1918-1930	2	4 or less	1
Rooming	1	Before 1918	1		
<i>Condition</i>	<i>Index</i>	<i>Lot Size</i>	<i>Index</i>	<i>Landscaping</i>	<i>Index</i>
Good	3	75 ft and over	4	Good	3
Fair	2	50 to 75	3	Fair	2
Poor	1	35 to 49	2	Poor	1
		under 35	1		
<i>Neighbourhood</i>	<i>Index</i>	<i>Classes</i>	<i>Total Index</i>		
Good	3	Class I	19+		
Fair	2	Class II	14 to 16		
Poor	1	Class III	11 to 13		
		Class IV	10—		

and two lie on its fringe.² Large densities may be explained by a concentration of department stores and financial institutions housed in large office buildings of five to twelve storeys. Eight blocks within the "core" have densities exceeding 1000 per acre and one has a density of 5000. These are grouped tributary to the intersection of Portage Avenue and Main Street.

Zone Two (101 to 500):

Immediately tributary to the zone of highest density is one ranging from 100 to 500 persons per acre. This is the fringe area of the C.B.D. including some non-typical uses such as over-crowded, obsolescent housing, "ripe for demolition". Here, too, are automobile showrooms with garages, and wholesale parts firms — truly a zone of transition. Immediately to the north of zone one, high densities occur, largely the result of the garment industries securing space in former wholesale-warehouse buildings of five to eight storeys high (compare fig. 1). Indeed, densities commonly range from 400 to 800 in this district. Here, too, is the city's skid row with its cheap over-crowded hotels, rooming places and tenements.

Zone Three (51 to 100):

Relatively small in area, but occupying the outer margin of the previous zone is one of moderately high densities. It conforms in many parts to class D housing (fig. 1). It is composed mainly of rooming-houses with "light house-keeping rooms", many of them in large mansions built in the 1890's. Overcrowding with the usual social problems characterizes it. Here, too, is a mingling of apartment blocks, many dating from the same decade, but some built since 1946. The section to the south of the C.B.D. is now being invaded by financial buildings indicating an outward movement from the more congested part of the C.B.D.

Zone Four (26 to 50):

Tributary to, and partly surrounding the previous zones is one of medium daytime density. On the north it is interrupted by the

² Weir, T. R., "Land Use and Population Characteristics of Central Winnipeg", *Geographical Bulletin*, no. 9, 1957.

railway belt, and on the south by better class residential along the Assiniboine River. For the most part it consists of class C residential, mostly older houses now divided into suites and rented rooms. Some still retain their single-family character, but are occupied by low to medium income groups with large families. Immediately north of the railway yards is the city's well known "North End" where many ethnic groups are crowded into substandard housing. A sprinkling of

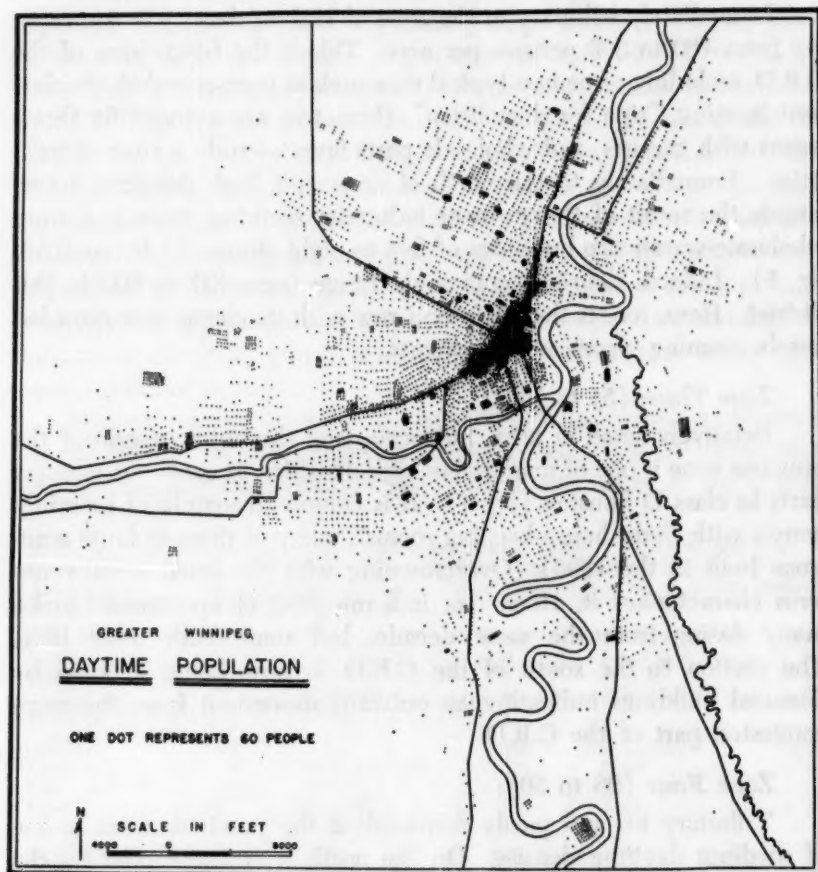


FIGURE 2

apartment blocks also contributes to moderate densities. Most of the dwellings were erected in the boom decade prior to the First World War, and most serve more than one family.

Zone Five (16-25):

Showing greater fragmentation, large sectors with densities of 16 to 25 per acre are grouped on the outer edges of zone four preserving a noticeable concentric pattern. This zone correlates predominantly with B class residential characterized by single-family dwelling constructed during the inter-war period. These are the homes of moderately large families of the middle income groups. To the east of the Red River a large sector falls within the Municipality of St. Vital and the City of St. Boniface. On the north is the Municipality of North Kildonan, and another sector lies to the extreme west in the City of St. James, all parts of the Metropolitan City.

Zone Six (10 to 15):

On the outer margins of the previous zone is one of light density resulting from larger lots and more generous street plans. The largest segment is the River Heights district in the southwest quarter of the city. This district is characterized by older housing near the Assiniboine River giving way to progressively newer housing near the margin. To zone six belong the better homes of the B class and most of the A class housing. Composed entirely of single family units, this zone shows relatively light densities.

Zone Seven (under 10):

On the outer edges of the city with all the typical characteristics of the rural-urban fringe is a mingling of undeveloped land and scattered housing. Along the Assiniboine River, many mansions of the older type mingle with ultra-modern bungalows with spacious grounds leading down to the river. Low densities result.

Zone Eight (variable densities):

Corresponding with the areas of industrial development and rail yards (Fig. 1) is a zone of varying densities from 5 to 40. The requirements of industry differ so much in their space needs that population densities show great variability.

Daily Change

In the daily ebb and flow from work place to domicile, the population change in the designated zones of land use varies from nearly 100 per cent (representing a complete change-over from night-time to daytime residence as in the case of the C.B.D.) to about 30 per cent where roughly two-thirds of the people remain in the place of residence in the daytime. The fringe of the C.B.D. (Zone two) showed a high rate of change varying from 80 to 70 per cent (i.e. only about 20 to 30 per cent remained at home night and day). In Zone three, where almost solid rooming-house use occurs, a high percentage of the residents left during the daytime for employment elsewhere since this is a zone where families are few. The rate of change is from 70 to 65 per cent. In Zone four, characterized by many families in the low-income group, women as well as men found employment away from home in the daytime resulting in a change of from 67 to 57 per cent of the resident population. In Zone five where single family dwellings of the middle income group are the rule, more women and small children are found at home in the daytime. The percentage change is only 55 to 50 per cent.

Zones six and seven include residential areas of the higher income groups as well as new subdivisions in the suburbs. In the case of the latter, families with young children are the rule and the daily change is least with only 45 to 35 per cent leaving the area in the daytime. On the other hand, in areas of high income (class A residential), families were small, and in many cases the residents were older so that the daily change was in the order of 50 per cent.

In the zone of mixed uses where industry predominates, the percentage change-over was from 80 to 90 per cent. Some residential use along the margins of this zone account for the 10 to 20 per cent that remain all the time.

In summary, the pattern of change like that of density follows a simple progression from very high in the C.B.D. where night-time residence is chiefly in hotels, to very low in the new residential districts of the urban fringe where young families with pre-school age children are the rule. Industrial areas may be compared to the C.B.D. in having a large diurnal range.

Community Planning And Housing: Step-Children of Canadian Federalism

by

H. PETER OBERLANDER

PLANNING the physical form and content of cities to improve living in them has a long tradition; town planning as the art of bringing order out of chaos was fathered by the Greeks. Hippodamus is credited with inventing the gridiron street system and Plato as well as Aristotle held strong views on optimum city size and its formal layout. The Romans through their vast engineering skill made the city an efficient and sanitary operation and began to codify urban life through laws and regulations. These ancient civilizations, just as every civilization since, learned that satisfactory urban life depends on effective urban planning and that the community acting on its own behalf with its own political strength must implement any plan for its future with courage and conviction.

The complexity of the modern urban community and the variety of problems besetting it today, demand a comprehensive and total approach to the governmental framework within which any solution must fit. A centralized or unitary form of government, such as in the United Kingdom, provides an evident integration of all governmental affairs since they emanate from one source of power. It is characteristic of a federally constituted country that the totality of public power for public action is not vested with any one single level of authority but is divided at least between two.

This sharing of responsibilities and powers, and hence of the initiative to act, has been a source of strength as well as weakness in the historic evolution of governmental functions in Canada. In dealing with the complex problems of urban growth which are besetting Canadian cities, this division of power has been a decided weakness; in fact it has been a severe handicap frustrating any comprehensive approach to solving urban problems. Constitutionally Canadian cities are creatures of their respective provinces, hence all matters concerning their well-being are provincial responsibilities in the first instance.

However, many of these have been delegated to the local authorities in the hope that they can deal with them adequately and thereby relieve the province of some of its constitutional obligations. Comprehensive planning for the use and regulation of land within the city's boundary is one of those delegated responsibilities.

It is the contention of this paper that although the power to plan is a local responsibility, the power to implement these plans demands concerted and integrated action of all levels of government, municipal, provincial and federal. The federal government has several strong and persuasive powers affecting the physical development of Canadian cities. Perhaps the strongest and most clearly revealed in the character and form of post-war Canadian cities are those in the field of housing. Through the National Housing Act and related legislation, the federal government has substantially influenced the nature and size of Canadian cities. Some say it has created post-war Canadian cities, particularly their burgeoning suburbs, and has done so without adequate reference to the aspirations of the local communities. This lack of reference is by no means the exclusive fault of one level of government or another, but seems built into our system of public policy formulation.

The Case Examined

During the twenty-five years since the first national housing legislation was passed, policies and programmes of the federal housing agency have been guided by a sequence of changing and short term goals. The first five years were influenced by the economic depression of the 'thirties. The 1935 Act and subsequent legislation in 1937 were intended to create employment and repair a badly strained system of economic institutions that traditionally had provided house construction funds and credit. During World War II federal action was geared to housing war workers quickly, cheaply and with a minimum of critical labour and materials. During the post-war decade, these latter operations were continued and extended to house returned soldiers. More recently the federal government has been concerned with providing loans and mortgage insurances to the rising tide of postwar new households stemming from the rapid industrial expansion across the country.

In nearly all these operations federal housing policies and programmes have been under a severe political and administrative handicap. Housing, as a field of public action, is a provincial responsibility under the Section 92 clause "property and civil rights" of the British North America Act. Consequently, the federal agency in establishing and administering a national programme could only deal with the provinces and not with the local communities concerned. However, problems of housing and community planning generally are local matters, therefore some friction resulted. Each level of government failed to understand fully the repercussions of federally aided housing upon municipal services and institutions. The federal power over matters of housing and community planning is the power of superior finances; the provincial power is based on the actual and interpreted constitutional division of jurisdictions. To deal effectively with the problems of growing urban communities, these public powers over urban development ought to be combined or at least closely related administratively. Each will achieve its objectives more effectively and considerable administrative integration can result; planning urban Canada can become a purposeful positive process implementing public concern for a better way of life. Perhaps the most effective way of formulating an appropriate administrative machinery is to clarify, in the first instance, the difficulties that this integration will have to overcome and the objectives that it is to attain. A study of the history of housing policies and programmes in Canada during the last twenty-five years and close observation of the current planning process at municipal level reveal three major considerations.

- a) The essentially conservative nature of federalism is a stumbling block to governmental action on behalf of planning comprehensive urban development.
- b) The rapidly growing direct financial stakes in Canadian cities by the respective federal and provincial governments make it essential, in their own self-interest, that they support a continuing rôle of local government in achieving better cities through comprehensive community planning.

- c) If local government is to carry out its traditional responsibilities in planning and guiding urban development, it needs a strengthened political and fiscal framework.

These three ideas deserve some elaboration:

Overcome the conservative nature of federalism:

Federal government is government divided between two levels of administration, each constitutionally assigned a sphere of responsibilities. The development of urban communities and the public aids currently available to achieve orderly growth concern both governments, as well as the delegated level of administration, the municipality. Consequently, public concern for urban development necessitates co-ordinated government action of the three levels of administration and active co-operation to achieve the social, economic and physical goals the community has set itself. The problem is not only to consolidate the federal government's administration in housing or streamline municipal action for town planning under provincial laws, but to establish a framework of continued co-operation of the three governments in their joint efforts to improve urban Canada.

The constitutional history of federal-provincial relations is characterized by the emphasis upon the respective powers and privileges allocated to each level of government at Confederation. The allocation of powers inherent in the British North America Act, and the initial interpretation of these powers, seem to have worked fairly well during the first thirty years of Confederation. The frictions between the federal and provincial governments that have beset their relations since then have been intensified by the fact that the British North America Act does not provide for an orderly method of adjusting the allocation of powers. The emphasis during the numerous dominion-provincial relations conferences was on re-allocation and similarly re-apportioning of sources of revenue. The fundamental concept that guided the Fathers of Confederation in allocating powers between the two governments was that all matters of national importance ought to be legislated by central government and matters of local importance at provincial level. It is nearly impossible to separate all the many government activities into "federal" and "provincial"

or to leave out of this allocation municipal government and its administrative significance. Consequently, it appears far more important and more fruitful in resolving federal-provincial problems of administration to create opportunities for joint action between the two governments and bring municipal administration into this co-operative process. It is no longer possible to divide public concern for the growth of urban Canada between federal and provincial constitutional powers, nor indeed, desirable, since most matters demand the combined resources and public powers of both administrative levels operating in conjunction with the municipalities. Rather than prolong the 30 to 40 years' discussion about which levels of government ought to be responsible for this or that service, we should recognize that the growing complexity of interrelationship in many public activities demands continued co-operation of all levels of administration. Undoubtedly, there are many aspects of public concern that can readily be assigned to one of the two senior governments, but in the field of housing and community planning it is collaboration and joint action that is needed. Thereby the national fiscal strength of the federal government can be combined with the proximity and responsiveness to local needs of the provincial and municipal governments. Their fundamental responsibilities for local affairs is thereby respected and indeed strengthened through national financial power.

In order to facilitate this co-operation it ought to be formalized by creating a permanent administrative framework; the federal and provincial governments ought to establish a series of Urban Development Boards to deal with all matters of planning and housing where joint action of the two levels of government is involved. There would be one board for each province, or ten boards across Canada, jointly and severally responsible in each case to the federal and provincial governments, acting as partners.

These boards would permit the federal-provincial partnership to guide and encourage jointly the orderly development of Canadian communities. Between them they would possess the totality of legislative authority which, combined, would allow each, within its own sphere in co-operation with the other, to achieve the complete power of regulation that may be desired.

A board's function would be twofold:

- (1) administration of the National Housing Act and related federal statutes (e.g. the Veterans' Land Act) provincially;
- (2) administration of the provincial Town Planning Act and related provincial statutes (e.g. the Slum Clearance Act).

The latter responsibility would include:

- (a) Provision of professional community planning service for all non-municipally organized communities in the province.
- (b) Positive leadership for all community planning activities within the established municipalities; specifically, examination of and advice upon all municipally prepared 'official plans' for submission to and approval by the Provincial Minister.
- (c) Co-ordination of community planning programmes and actions between related municipalities, especially in metropolitan areas.
- (d) Collection, clearance and co-ordination of provincially and regionally significant planning data; specifically acting as a clearance house for nationally, provincially and locally collected social and economic statistics and land-use survey information.

Urban Development Boards would enable relevant senior governmental policies and programmes, such as federal aids to housing or site selection for crucial public works, to be integrated closely with local objectives for community development. These boards would be agencies of 'administrative management' and as such would be able to overcome the excessively conservative nature of federalism exemplified by the separation and compartmentalization of the public administrative process.

Support a Continuing Rôle of Local Government:

Urban Development Boards would be provincial boards, appointed by and responsible to the legislature through the respective Minister of Municipal Affairs (or Minister of Planning and Develop-

ment, whenever a separate Planning Department exists). This basic responsibility recognizes and respects the provincial constitutional jurisdiction over community planning and related aspects.

However, Urban Development Boards would also be designated by the federal government as its agents to administer federal housing legislation in each province. This would allow a locally-oriented federal government activity to be decentralized without sacrificing the superior federal financial strength. (This federal-provincial relationship would parallel the arrangements made for Produce Marketing Boards, which, after considerable litigation, have been accepted as constitutionally permissible.) An Urban Development Board would be appointed, as it were, as an agent for the federal government as well as acting as a provincial agency. This arrangement would enable it to combine in its administrative procedure federal and provincial policies and powers.

The province should be required to select at least three of a proposed seven-member board from among those recommended by the federal government. (A chairman would be elected annually from among the members.) In addition the province ought to include in its appointments one member of the provincial Union of Municipalities, perhaps its president, as a statutory requirement. Also the board should be required to co-opt one further member to its ranks whenever problems considered affect a specific municipality exclusively.

Such Urban Development Boards would be strengthened by the provision of a professionally qualified staff secretariat, exercising all executive functions of the board, headed by an executive secretary and directly responsible to the chairman. Staffs for these secretariats could be recruited from the existing regional offices of Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation and the respective provincial departments of planning, thereby maintaining continuity of administration and technical experience.

The staff secretariat would exercise jointly the duties previously assigned to each of the above agencies, with considerable extension in the field of community planning. In administrative matters it would act as a bridge between the provincial and federal departments concerned with urban development and the municipalities.

Strengthen Local Government:

The postwar decade has seen considerable expansion in planning budgets in many Canadian cities, particularly the large metropolitan areas. However, a system of incentive grants-in-aid would enable every municipality throughout Canada, regardless of its size, to obtain competent technical advice and develop its own machinery and programme of community planning. Such grants-in-aid ought to be made by the federal-provincial partnership through the Urban Development Boards for the following purposes:

1. To encourage expenditures on a particular activity that the provinces desire to promote. Planning would thus be stimulated as a broad social service available to all communities within every province. Although it would remain an optional municipal service, it would be supported by powerful incentives for action. Federal-provincial joint financial support would demonstrate the value and importance the two levels of government attach to community planning locally. It would invest planning with considerable prestige and dispel any lingering doubts of the value or validity of planning as a legitimate part of local government.

2. To assist municipalities to meet costs of essential services. Many local authorities have established a minimum community planning programme and retained staff for professional advice. This staff function ought to be enlarged and closely integrated with the other land development operations of municipalities. The additional financial cost involved should be borne by the partnership in the interest of fully effective community planning and in relation to their own growing public investment in buildings and services in these communities.

3. To induce municipalities to attain minimum standards of performance. Community planning as a technical service of local government is practised with a widely varying degree of competence and interpretation. The partnership through the Urban Development Boards could establish standards of professional practice and encourage local authorities to adopt and apply them.

4. To equalize the burden of maintaining certain services as between municipalities of varying financial capacities. Through its

superior financial resources the partnership could support a minimum level of community planning throughout the provinces or between provinces; thereby it would assure that the need for planning could be met by every community with a relatively equal tax burden upon all tax-payers.

In fulfilling these purposes grants-in-aid would strengthen local government materially. Every municipality would be enabled to perform the local planning function effectively and thereby discharge one of the most significant and appropriate services assigned to it.

The grants-in-aid system could be based on arrangements similar to the current provincial-federal partnership for securing low-rent housing. Under the National Housing Act, Section 36, the federal government can supply 75 per cent and the province 25 per cent of funds necessary to buy land and build housing for sale or rent as a joint enterprise. The province in turn is entitled to split its share with the municipality where the land is to be developed or the housing to be built, in any way it sees fit. These financial arrangements could form the precedent for a joint grants-in-aid programme for community planning. Upon application, each municipality would be entitled to annual grant-in-aid payments through the Urban Development Boards, the cost being shared by the federal and provincial partnership; in this case, however, the inverse ratio appears more valid: 25 per cent by the federal government and 75 per cent by the provinces. This reversed ratio would express the fact that community planning is a provincial responsibility in accordance with the British North America Act division of powers.

Since the conditional grants would be geared to stimulate community planning where it does not yet exist and to encourage and extend it where municipal governments have started on their own, it is important to base them on a formula that will be meaningful in terms of the planning needs of small communities as well as large ones. Furthermore, grants-in-aid for planning ought to be based on the need for comprehensive planning and not upon a single or isolated element of municipal administration. It ought to reflect fully the complexity of urban growth and its problems as part of municipal

government. Yet grants-in-aid should be based on a formula which is flexible and simple, so as to create an easy and fair framework for provincial-municipal and federal co-operation.

This system of grants-in-aid supported through federal and provincial funds and administered by a joint agency, province by province, attempts to combine senior governmental fiscal strength with local or close to local administration. The proper development of urban Canada is of wider-than-local interest and yet it can only be guided and controlled effectively at the community level. Grants-in-aid would encourage municipalities to engage in a broad planning process and thereby strengthen local self-government in one of the vital and meaningful functions of local governmental administration.

In summary, the continuing and orderly growth of urban Canada demands co-ordinated and joint action by the totality of all public powers, particularly the federal, provincial and local governments. It is not a question of whose responsibility the cities and their problems are — it is clearly a joint and multiple responsibility and nothing short of the complete range of fiscal, political and administrative resources of the three levels of government will be effective in dealing with the interlocking problems of Canadian urban centres. The complexities of urban life are particularly evident in Canada's metropolitan areas and here the splintered and fragmentary administrative responsibilities are clearly blocking any rational approach towards solving difficulties. The multiplicity of overlapping jurisdictions of governmental and quasi-governmental agencies must be overcome if living and working in these metropolitan centres is to be improved commensurate with our growing insights into social and human aspirations. Urban Development Boards may be one device whereby joint action can become a reality and achieve an integrated approach towards the formulation of policy and its implementation through joint programmes and projects within the existing constitutional and statutory framework.

Review Article

The Poetry Of Boris Pasternak*

by

R. A. D. FORD

The greatest submerged literary treasure of the twentieth century is Russian lyric poetry. Until the granting of the Nobel Prize to Boris Pasternak, and significantly just after the publication in the West of his long-awaited novel, very few people in the West were even aware of the existence of this treasure, let alone the wealth of which we have been deprived. Balmont, Bryusov, Sologub, Solovyov, Belyi, Blok, Akhmatova, are only names to most of us. And even the poets of the post-revolutionary and modern periods—Yessenin, Mayakovsky, Tikhonov, Simonov, Alegr, Tvardovsky, Bergoltz, Inber, Shchipachev and others—are faint shadows. Politics is, of course, in part to blame, but only in part, because the Russian prose writers of the twentieth century, even many of the more obscure novelists, are well known in the West. The answer lies in the very great difficulty Russian poetry presents even to those who master the language, and the almost insuperable obstacles of translating it adequately into English.

It must be admitted, however, that much of Russian poetry of the last half century has been extraordinarily complicated, if not gnomic. The remarkable intellectual revival during the fifteen years before the First World War resulted in the proliferation of new ideas, new forms, new schools of poetry. Apocalypticism, symbolism, futurism, imagism, acmeism, some related to prevailing fashions in the West, some indigenous, flourished, and provided exotic vessels for the new Russian poetry. Although these schools of poetry and the poets that they produced seem all to belong to another century, it was in fact in this milieu that Boris Pasternak was reared and received his poetic training. And since, right up to his death last year he continued to produce poetry of a very high quality, deeply rooted in the traditions of Russian verse, we cannot fully appreciate his unique position unless we place him in the proper perspective of Russian poetry.

Pasternak was not a unique phenomenon. Great though his poetry is, indeed, some would dispute the claim that he is the best modern Russian poet. Blok, Yessenin, Mayakovsky, his contemporaries, are all in their way superb poets. But all three in some form or another adapted themselves to the political

* *The Poetry of Boris Pasternak*. By George Reavey. New York, G.P. Putnam; Toronto, Longmans, Green & Company. 1960. pp. 256. \$4.50.

and social exigencies of the Revolution. All of them were dead, two of them suicides, by 1926. Only Pasternak, who, by every touchstone of the times, was unlikely to survive that period let alone the terrible years of the purges, the war, and the last excesses of Stalin, outlived them and most of his political contemporaries as well. Survival alone, in the Russia of the last troubled decades, was an accomplishment, but survival intact was a triumph.

To judge Pasternak's poetry properly is difficult because the English-speaking world has so little preparation for him, so little background into which he can be fitted. And Pasternak must be judged as a poet. The writing of lyric verse was the main task he set himself, and, although some of the prose of *Doctor Zhivago*, *Safe Conduct* and *The Childhood of Luvers* is very fine, it is primarily because of the flashes of great poetry that illuminate it. But it is doubtful if Pasternak will ever be able to take the place due to him in the West's galaxy of poetic geniuses, for the simple reason that language stands in the way. This, of course, is not unique with Pasternak. Even the best of Pushkin and Lermontov comes through in English as a pale imitation of the romantic poets. Their reputation abroad stands in part on their prose, in part on the word of those who know Russian. Blok will always maintain his special reputation because of the superb translations by Babette Deutsch and Avrahm Yarmolinsky of those great poems of the Revolution, *The Twelve*, and *The Scythians*. Mayakovsky adjusted his style to the conditions of the time, and his revolutionary and post-revolutionary poems are relatively easy to translate because of his reliance on the presentation, often in simple language, of uncomplicated ideas, and the story of the Revolution, though it is probable that the intrinsic value of his verse declined as a result.

But the two greatest poets of the epoch, Yessenin and Pasternak, by retaining their special style, by their supreme command of form and the music of words, remain almost untranslatable. George Reavey, in his book *The Poetry of Boris Pasternak*, has made a valiant effort, but he has not entirely succeeded. And if he, with his talent as a poet himself, his thorough knowledge of Russian, and his personal acquaintance with Pasternak was unable to do it, then it is doubtful if it can be done. The most we can hope for is that the occasional translation of individual poems by a happy flash of inspiration will give us a glimpse of the great body of true poetry hidden from us.

Mr. Reavey has, however, performed an important task in putting together his recollections of Pasternak, the facts of his life, in compiling a bibliography of Pasternak's work, and in giving us a brief critical commentary on the 92 poems he has included in his volume. But even with such a generous sampling of Pasternak's verse, from 1919 to 1959, it omits all except a few pages of his major poems, *Nineteen Hundred and Five*, *Lieutenant Schmidt*, and *Spectorsky*. Therefore, even though this is the best introduction in English to Pasternak's poetry now available, it is far from complete.

Mr. Reavey would have helped the reader if he had given some indication of the method he used in translating. Many of the poems in Mr. Reavey's version are partly rhymed and partly without any obvious pattern. It is impossible to tell if this was due to the difficulties of translation, or if it represents the form of the original, since Pasternak did often depart inexplicably from fairly tight rhyme schemes. The poem *White Night* is rhymed *a b a b* throughout, but with curious variations in each verse. The first consists of haunting, almost imperceptible vocal rhymes, verse two of half-rhymes, verse three of alternate full-rhymes and half-rhymes, and so on. Most of this is impossible to reproduce, but since Mr. Reavey occasionally carries rhyme over into the translation it would have helped to know what the original was like.

The standard of translation is on the whole high, but there are occasional inexplicable lapses such as the last verse of *The Old Park*, which in Mr. Reavey's version degenerates into something hardly recognizable as poetry at all:

As for himself, he'd write a play
On themes by this great war inspired,
While forests murmured, ceaseless swayed —
So mused he, flat on his sick bed.

At other times, the comparison with previous translations of Pasternak shows strange deviations. Mr. Reavey's translation of the last verse but one of *My Verses*, *Hurry* reads:

O heritage of Philistines!
The injurious specter of unlove
As fantastic as Gogol's *Viy*,
Comes visiting them in the night,
And by that phantom is disfigured
The natural lot of all best wives.

Whereas the translation of J. M. Cohen, published in 1945, is:

And unreal as Gogol's *V*,
hatred's tiresome bogey man
pays frightful visits in the night;
changed by a spectre — that's the fate
natural to the best of women.

Added to our difficulties in judging Pasternak is the lack of reliable Russian texts, which may account for the above differences. His poems were generally published in very small editions and are now collectors' items. There is no collected, or even selected, work in the original. One of the American scholarly foundations could perform an important cultural task by publishing his poetry in Russian.

Pasternak is above all a lyric poet. Even his long poems are lyric poems connected by a major theme — childhood, growing up, the evolution, or the revelation of belief in God. The 26 poems appended to *Dr. Zhivago*, for example, can each be read as a separate lyric, but they also fit together as a magnificent statement of the poet's abiding religious beliefs.

This intense religious conviction, this almost saint-like singleness of purpose, the pure artistic integrity, is what distinguishes Pasternak from poets in the Western world, from Robert Frost, for example, with whom otherwise a comparison is inevitable. Like Frost, his poetry has that rare combination—earthiness and the countryman's love of nature, with supreme technical skill. All through his verse runs the passionate attachment to nature, to the soil of Russia, which led him to refuse to leave Peredelkino even under the greatest official pressure. Here is the graphic and original description of summer in this village near Moscow, written early in 1941:

The virgin soil is dried and baked,
And steam and vapor from it swarm;
And the whole earth is fire-caked
Like stove-beds kept all winter warm.

When toiling and in earth engrossed,
My shirt I strip and throw away;
With scorching sun my back's then glossed
And baked like some big lump of clay.

At the same time he writes with a taut verse, original and varied rhyme schemes, using many of the devices of vocal rhymes, half-rhymes and feminine rhymes not normal in Russian verse, and a grammatical construction so complicated and at times obscure as to be the despair of the translator. In Russian this shocks and stimulates, but it is almost impossible to convey this impression in English.

Almost anywhere one glances at Pasternak's poems one comes in delighted surprise on the most original images, ones which Canadians particularly, because of the similarity of climate, can recognize and appreciate:

Spring! I am from the street where the poplars stand astonished,
Where the distance shies in fright, where houses fear to fall,
Where the air is blue-washed, like the linen bundle
Of a patient just discharged from hospital.

and, again, describing a February thaw:

A child clings closer to its nurse.
A sunbeam like some lemonade
Has trickled into holes and hollows
And lies in ice the hue of puddles.

It chills there in the dripping ooze
Of an egg inside a broken shell,
And a pair of skis with their blue line
Divide it on the path in half.

The first poem was written in 1918, the second in 1958. Few poets have maintained such a consistency of concept, of style, of sharp imagery over a period of forty years. And few have stuck so firmly to their beliefs, and to their tenets as an artist. In 1956 he wrote:

Man is the loss I have sustained
Since everybody's lost him too.

This feeling of partnership with humanity, of striving after divinity, is consistent through his entire work. And this is what raises his poetry to a level few other poets of the century have reached.

Tolstoy is alleged to have told Pasternak's father he should never forget that everything material was doomed. "But," he added, "if in our work there remains one grain of true art, it will live for ever." There is more than one grain of true art in Pasternak, enough to ensure that his poetry will long outlive his epoch. Mr. Reavey has made an important contribution by ensuring that this "true art," that much truer because of the environment in which it survived, should be available to the English-speaking world.

THE NEW BOOKS

Urban Development and Renewal

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY INTO THE DESIGN OF THE RESIDENTIAL ENVIRONMENT. Ottawa: Royal Architectural Institute of Canada. 1960. \$1.00.

The eight month study behind this report of 50 pages with summaries, charts and photographs was initiated and conducted by the R.A.I.C. A committee of three architects served voluntarily. The Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation paid the costs of travel and supporting staff. Public meetings were held in 14 cities and nearly 250 briefs were heard. The terms of reference were broad.

Canada is urbanizing at the rate of 100 square miles every year. The committee reported that the public being served thereby suffers therefrom with an intangible malaise. This seemed to them to arise from life in a residential environment with houses, streets and districts all essentially the same. This sameness tends to segregate people into age and income groups. It provides inadequately organic community units both socially and economically, it provides no focus or symbol and is visually monotonous.

The report examines the processes by which urbanization takes place, and finds that the construction industry is giving the purchaser his dollar value but at two-thirds its capacity due to certain inhibiting aspects of land speculation, to insufficient use of the federal-provincial land assembly legislation, to faulty local building restrictions and the regulations of C.M.H.C. itself.

Conditions under which good housing design occurs were found when the builder had ample credit, an extensive parcel of land, a competent design team, continuity of interest in the community after sale, and a sound municipal or area plan of development within which to work.

These conditions were found not to occur when town planning has short term tactics and no strategy, when local government has neither the skill nor the finances to co-operate, when provincial government gives

no leadership in regional planning, when the architectural profession is unskilled in community development, and when the public is unaware of what can be enjoyed from a well made residential environment.

The committee reported that research was necessary in fifteen fields which included human behaviour, family composition, professional aptitudes, siting and land-use restrictions, effects of traffic, utilities design, taxation, density and land economics. It recommended changes in subdivision control methods and in C.M.H.C. regulations, greater use of land assembly schemes, regional planning by provincial governments, greater municipal powers of land acquisition, protection of irreplaceable agricultural land, vigorous programmes of housing rehabilitation and public housing, preservation of historical buildings, improved professional training and the formation of an Institute of Urban Studies at a suitable university. The R.A.I.C. is now appealing to members for money to initiate this research.

There is in the report no criticism of Canadian builders, nor of Canadian society whose transient community interests and desire for sameness and orthodoxy arise from the sale of their homes every four and a half years, and are mirrored so perfectly in their residential environment. The reviewer regrets however that no attack is levelled at provincial legislation which makes most forms of new housing uneconomical to a growing municipality taxwise, and starves municipalities of credit when they need it most in adolescence. The builders and the provinces seem to have had good PR men.

ANTHONY ADAMSON

TORONTO

LAND-USE PLANNING: A Casebook on the Use, Misuse and Re-use of Urban Land. By Charles M. Haar. Boston and Toronto: Little, Brown and Company. 1959. Pp. xxv + 790. \$10.00.

Land Planning Law furnishes instruments essential for carrying out, in part, the in-

tentions of the planner, without which he would be merely a dreamer. The legislator, the judge and the lawyer must understand the goals and methods of the planner in order that they may fashion and administer Planning Law in the best interests of society. The planner, on his part, must understand the legal aspects of the basic hypotheses on which society, the state and the law are founded, the principles of constitutional law, the methods of the legislator and the processes of adjudication and enforcement, in order that he may be aware of factors limiting the efficacy of his plans and adapt his planning methods and his plans to make the best use of the legal system within which he must act.

Professor Haar of the Faculty of Law, Harvard University, has compiled in the book under review a collection of materials related to land planning and land-use control, including statutes, reports of judicial decisions, historical and statistical information, articles, excerpts from leading works, and other documents, arranged systematically, illustrated and supplemented by connective material and stimulating notes and questions for discussion. Although the work is primarily designed for use by teachers and students of Planning Law, it will repay study by everyone concerned with land planning and land-use control, whether as planner, legislator, administrator, judge, lawyer or otherwise.

The introductory chapter, opening with an outline of trends in urban society, continues with historical material and excerpts from works of leading European and American exponents of planning and the rôles of the planner and the lawyer, and concludes with excerpts from "master" plans of Oxford, England and Berkeley, California.

The next three chapters illustrate the functions of the Common Law concept of nuisance and the statutory instruments of zoning and subdivision control, while Chapter 6 deals with urban renewal by private interests and private "building schemes" and other restrictive covenants as controls of land use. Chapters 5 and 7 illustrate the rôles of the government, as land owner and redistributor, through acquisition, development and resale of land on the one hand, and, on the other, as promoting development and redevelopment by providing funds,

tax policies and other indirect means. The concluding chapter re-examines the "Master Plan", the planning process and the efficacy and desirability of land-use controls in creating or preserving values.

Professor Haar's breadth and depth of scholarship and sympathetic understanding of the problems faced by planners in other countries as well as his own, already indicated by the publication in 1951 of his *Land Planning: Law in a Free Society*, a study of the British Town and Country Planning Act, are further demonstrated by the wide range of materials comprised in his collection, including even the Canadian cases of *Re Drummond Wren* and *Noble & Wolf v. Alley*.

Canadian lawyers and law students will appreciate that differences between the constitutional laws of Canada and the United States have made necessary certain differences in legislative and judicial techniques in the two countries. Nevertheless, Canadians will find the book of great interest and value.

STUART RYAN

QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY

A PLANNING STUDY, KINGSTON, ONTARIO, 1960, Prepared for the City Council by Gordon Stephenson, M.T.P.I.C., and G. George Muirhead, M.T.P.I.C. Published by The Corporation of the City of Kingston. Pp. 100. \$2.00.

Cities are what people make them. This report is an invitation and encouragement to the people of Kingston to make something better of their city; and a set of proposals for the redevelopment of the older parts and effective planning for the new parts of the city. As an illustration of some problems and principles of town planning, the report has an interest far beyond the Kingston area. It is one of a series of urban redevelopment studies which have been initiated in Canadian cities in recent years with the help of the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation. The Kingston study reflects a loving concern of the authors for the Limestone City and its environs.

Parts I to V of the report are essentially an essay on the development of Kingston, the contemporary setting, the economic background and prospects of the region and the main problems and proposals. Parts VI, VII and VIII are reports on careful surveys of housing and land-use arrangements in Kingston, with a series of specific suggestions and illustrative sketches for development and redevelopment policy. Part IX reports on a number of special studies.

This reviewer believes that the Kingston Report is a very good planning study. In a democratic society with a predominantly private enterprise system of land ownership and development, city planning cannot be a matter of the personal whim or preference of the planner or of a person in a position of political power. Public acceptance and support for a plan must be obtained, and at something beyond the lowest-common-denominator of reconciliation of private interests. To obtain public support, a plan must be based on facts which are carefully assembled and analyzed, and it must attempt to shape the underlying forces operating on the development of the city rather than sail entirely against the wind. The plan must inspire people to consider the city as a whole, and must be carefully conceived, defensible, and widely publicized. The Stephenson-Muirhead report is not a city plan as such, but it is an analysis of the needs, and a set of ideas that may be incorporated in a plan. In my opinion it meets the criteria set out above for a good and successful plan in a democratic society.

The report is based on a forecast of the continuation of the comparatively rapid growth which Kingston has experienced during the last quarter century. Some readers might have doubts about this premise, in the light of the limited periods of rapid growth and the long periods of comparative stagnation in the last one hundred and fifty years of Kingston history. The economic section of the report shows that the economic base of the city (as a regional and national service and education centre with a complement of modern industrial activities) is much broader and much more closely geared to participating in the general

urban-industrial economic development of Canada than it was in the stagnation period between 1850 and 1920. Also the recent rapid growth of Kingston is based in part on certain general influences toward urbanization in Canada which have by no means spent their force. I believe that the report is fundamentally correct in predicting growth, though one can argue about the probable rate and timing. Incidentally, the report suggests that being mid-way between Toronto and Montreal is an asset to Kingston; by implication, Kingston is better located from an industrial point of view than other communities along the shores of the Lake and the St. Lawrence which are closer to Toronto or to Montreal. However, from the point of view of transfer costs, being precisely mid-way between two major markets is a much poorer position than being closer to one or the other market.

The effective area of urban land-use in Kingston now exceeds the political and planning bounds of the city; with the present political boundaries and the expected urban growth, the portion of the city-region outside the city will grow rapidly. The present arrangements for planning the urban development of the city-region are a failure (my words, not the authors'); the peripheral development that is now taking place around Kingston is, from almost every point of view, slovenly and inefficient (my words, not the authors'). The report urges a new planning approach to the whole city-region, suggesting that the planning powers be transferred entirely to a reconstituted area board, with the existing city and township planning boards disappearing. The problem of a city-region approach to planning and city development is one that is exercising people in big cities and small ones all over the Western World. The Kingston Planning Study provides one example of the results of the existing system and an alternative proposal. Personally I believe the report's suggestion of a single planning agency for the whole area is only workable if the political power and responsibility for the whole area are also consolidated. This is not the place to argue the matter; the point is that the report deals with a very important issue in the institutional arrangements for city planning and

development; it shows that the present arrangements are quite unsatisfactory.

The report gives much attention to redevelopment of some predominantly residential areas in the old city and of the central business district. Kingston has some bad housing, mostly in small pockets rather than in large continuous agglomerations. The survey sections of the study document at considerable length the association between bad housing and various indicators of social ills (such as welfare cases, crime rates, and fires). The authors make a series of recommendations for the improvement of housing, including a substantial programme of subsidized public housing, neighbourhood renewal arrangements, housing codes and public redevelopment schemes. One of the toughest problems in our society is the formulation of a sensible housing policy. The correlation of social ills and bad housing does not necessarily indicate that the appropriate vehicle for dealing with social ills is a subsidized public housing programme. Such a policy is only one possible method of tackling the social problems. The authors have not attempted to establish the merits of the housing approach to the problem as compared with alternatives.

The authors argue, with great hope and affection, for the refurbishment of the core of the city, which is at present a little sick economically. The report contains some exciting ideas both for public action (with respect to the waterfront, parking and streets and traffic) and for private redevelopment of the central business district.

DAVID W. SLATER

QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY

Darwinism

EVOLUTION AFTER DARWIN. Ed. Sol Tax. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1960. Vol. 1. Pp. viii + 629. \$10.00. Vol. 2. Pp. vi + 473. \$10.00.

EVOLUTION: ITS SCIENCE AND DOCTRINE. Ed. T. W. M. Cameron. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1960. Pp. xi + 242.

In 1959 the one-hundredth anniversary of the publication of Darwin's *Origin of*

Species — the most influential scientific work of all time — was appropriately recognized by scientists, and especially by biologists, throughout the world. By far the most notable celebration was at the University of Chicago where most of the pre-eminent biologists of the world assembled to present papers and take part in discussions. The two volumes of addresses entitled, respectively, *The Evolution of Life* and *The Evolution of Man* (Vols. 1 and 2 as listed above) comprise a compendium of knowledge and theory on practically all aspects of biology which is surely unrivalled. A third volume, *Issues in Evolution*, is still to come.

It is impossible, in a brief review, even to make a list of contributions; there are twenty in the first volume and twenty-two in the second. The masterly essay on Charles Darwin by Sir Julian Huxley in the first volume should be mentioned and some reference made to the remarkable papers by H. J. Muller and by Sir Charles Galton Darwin in the second.

Muller is a Nobel Prize winner and well known to all biologists as the greatest living geneticist and a most learned and humane man. As he says: "One person in five, or 20 per cent, carries a detrimental gene which arose in the immediately preceding generation Modern techniques are so efficacious that . . . they might today be able to save for life and a virtually normal rate of reproduction some nine-tenths of the otherwise doomed 20 per cent." If this were to go on for a long time and medical techniques continued to improve, there would be so many requiring care that all of the fit would be fully occupied in looking after them. The result would be a breakdown of civilization but Muller recognizes that over-population will bring most serious trouble long before that.

He advocates a change in attitudes so that it would be regarded as right and proper that the welfare of children and of the human race should be considered to be of paramount importance. If this should come about then those likely to transmit hereditary defects would be deterred from having children and those likely to transmit good qualities would be encouraged to have

many children, some to be adopted by adults of the other type. Moreover, semen of people of extraordinary merit should be preserved by deep freeze (as is quite feasible) and used for artificial insemination at later times. This article deserves widespread attention, but I am afraid that it is not likely to get it.

Sir Charles Galton Darwin deals briefly with the population problem. "It can be taken as established by the demographers that our present world population of more than two and a half billion will almost surely have become at least five billion by the end of the twentieth century." He considers that, if only modern techniques of food production could be put into general practice, these five thousand million people could be fed; but it is quite unlikely that enough food will be produced within forty years to feed twice as many people as now exist. After the year 2000 the prospect is really grim. A simple calculation will show that, if the human population were to continue to increase at its present rate of 1.75 per cent per year for a period of time equal to that which has elapsed since the fall of the Roman Empire, there would be a mass (or weight) of living human beings greater than that of this whole planet.

The increase of modern times has come about in over-populated areas not by an increase in the birth-rate but by a decrease in the death-rate accomplished by the application of scientific methods, mostly in the field of medicine. Sir Charles sees no prospect of checking the increase of population except through control, and no means of exercising control, although he does note that over a million abortions a year are now being performed in Japan. As he says, the central problem of the world will be over-population.

The other book listed above consists of papers on geological, philosophical, sociological, and cosmological subjects presented at the symposium of the Royal Society of Canada at its annual meeting in Saskatoon, 1959. Of the twenty papers, seven deal with fossils. Especially notable are the contributions of W. P. Thompson on the cause and mode of evolution, of R. G. E. Murray on the evolution of bacteria, of Bruce F. Crocker on biochemistry, of G. M. Shrum

on physics, and of A. G. W. Cameron on the origin of the elements. There are interesting papers by Alexander Brady and by Claude Bissell on other writers in Darwin's time and, in fact, all of the articles will repay careful reading.

While the quality and range of the presentations at Chicago surpass those given at Saskatoon, the Canadian addresses, although they were made five months earlier, may justly be regarded as a worthy supplement to a much more ambitious effort. Everyone interested in science can get from these volumes a very good idea of the state of science, especially biology, today.

R. O. EARL

KINGSTON

Medicine

MEDICINE IN THE MAKING. By Gordon Murray. Toronto: The Ryerson Press. 1960. Pp. 235. \$5.50.

This book was written for his family by one whom I have admired since the days in the 'thirties when I used to see him hurrying between the elevator and Walter Cowan's operating-room in the Banting Institute, frequently followed by Louis Jaques. (Dr. Murray will understand this confession of admiration; I am not a Toronto man.) It is a lively recital, with philosophic comment, of the accomplishments and frustrations of a great Canadian surgeon. His diverse professional achievements could not be duplicated by a young surgeon to-day, for he was a general surgeon, interested and skilled in many fields which have since become narrow specialties, so highly cultivated as to require years of training and to engage the full time of their practitioners. Dr. Murray has made important contributions to orthopaedic surgery, to abdominal surgery, and to cardiovascular surgery; these are all described concisely if, at times, with something less than modesty.

Murray's interest in science was kindled by his mother when he was a small boy. "None of the university professors surpassed

mother's ability for teaching biology." (She would have been saddened to learn that he classifies the toad among the *Reptilia*.) She taught him to observe and to investigate. He carried these habits, along with patience and industry, into medical school at Toronto, and six years of graduate training in England and the United States. Thoroughly grounded in anatomy and the broad field of general surgery, with some experience in teaching, he came to the University of Toronto to practise and to teach.

His reception at the hospital chilled him, for, while he was warmly received by the chief of the service, "When I was introduced to some members of the staff, the greetings were polite and cool . . . in those days the staffs of Canadian hospitals were men of limited training, acquired in local hospitals only, and as a result their interest in research and progress was limited." He was reminded of the experience of Pasteur, "whose fellow citizens, especially in the scientific and medical professions, heaped derision on him", and of Lister, "who was all but ostracised in Edinburgh", and, like them, was driven to seek solace in more careful investigation. He brought his theories to the laboratory; he tested them carefully on animals before he practised them on patients; he consulted scientists in the medical school and collaborated with them. When he demonstrated his surgical successes to his colleagues in the hospital, he was depressed by the unenthusiastic comments and the reluctance to admit their value. This feeling of rejection was exaggerated by invitations he received to exhibit his techniques in the United States, England and Australia. In his book there are repeated bitter comments on the frequency with which opportunities for developing discoveries by young investigators were neglected by their seniors in Toronto.

Murray might be called a surgical inventor. He developed techniques which are widely practised now, and which have led to improvements in the care of patients. In particular, the introduction of the use of heparin in surgery has made safe the repair of damage to blood vessels, and of congenital defects in the heart.

His book provides easy reading for the layman, and the key to his successes for

the man of medicine. It is uneven in the quality of the writing; much of it is good, but some chapters seem to have been written hurriedly and not reviewed before publication.

A chapter describing experiences in England contains such ponderous sentences as "Phoning the titled gentleman next day at a time too near the period appointed for gastronomic pleasure to make arrangements for the operation the next day, I had been greeted with the slamming of the ornate bifunctional English phone-piece and the exclamation 'Preposterous!'" On the other hand, a typical surgeon's sentence, debriefed of redundancy, reads "Instead of producing a high arch in a foot, toe-dancing almost invariably produces a broken arch, largely because of the necessity of rising, not on the tip of the great toe, but on the medial border where, in addition to the long flexors, the short flexors and abductor muscle share in bearing the weight." Some of his descriptions are delightful, such as the shedding of the toad's skin, "Much as the ballerina, her final act completed, swishes off her tights, so this creature, with further manipulation by all four feet at once, stripped off his outer skin and pulled it over his head, stepped to one side to pick up the discarded garment, rolled it into a ball, and swallowed it."

A valuable appendix is a complete list of the author's scientific publications. It is a pity that the photograph on the dust cover is not included as a plate in the text, for this illustration, which will be lost with time, is an excellent and characteristic likeness of the careful scientist as I remember him, totally absorbed in the experiment under his gloved hand.

G. H. ETtinger

QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY

Education

THE POLITICS OF EDUCATION. By Frank MacKinnon. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1960. Pp. viii + 187. \$4.75.

"Look here, I don't work for you. You work for me," said an irritated professor

to an administrative official who appeared to be offering unnecessary instructions on academic matters. This is the attitude which Dr. MacKinnon would like to see in all Canadian teachers, who, he believes, are smothered by an impenetrable featherbed of administration which effectively cuts them off from any communication with the minister responsible for policy.

He would also like to see teachers with sufficient power and prestige to resist bullying by Home and School or by any other associations; he would like them to be free to educate the public and especially to make it clear that children with enough sleep and good food, exposed at home to intelligent conversation and worthwhile books can (very often) do without expensive psychological services, and to make it clear also that education is not something you are given, but something you get.

To achieve such desirable ends Dr. MacKinnon would virtually abolish administrators and Colleges of Education, giving teachers chiefly a liberal arts education and in-service training. With the extinguishers removed schools would be free, under certain safeguards, to develop their own curricula, set their own examinations, make their own promotions. To those who might express surprise and even dismay, he says in effect "Why not?" "... doctors still control medicine; the law is still in the hands of judge and lawyers; engineers are still entrusted with engineering projects; clergymen are still in charge of churches. Teachers, however, are not in charge of education . . ." (p. 24).

This is persuasive, but the reader will observe not only that these statements are not entirely true, but also that the analogy is a false one. While the other professions are still largely "free enterprise" education is becoming in practice a state monopoly with everyone forced to buy. Dr. MacKinnon does not wish to alter this system; he wishes only to incorporate the benefits of free enterprise. It is desirable to have one's cake and eat it too; it is not always possible.

Every intelligent Canadian must read this searching criticism, this eloquent defence of the freedom of teachers to teach, this admirable plea for sound learning, with much sympathy. But many feel that it is straining the truth to put the blame for all

our ills on "state control". And to imply that little good can be done under our present system is to over-rate systems and under-rate people. The truth is that if all the evils of state control were eliminated we would still find parents and teachers as well as administrators ready to magnify the machine and the method and to forget the love of knowledge which is the root of all education. "The Browning Version" was set not in a state, but in a private school.

But if the case is slightly over-simplified it is not seriously falsified. All Canadians should be grateful for a clear analysis of the strangling effects of excessive administration and for a courageous presentation of the principles through which a remedy must be sought. Dr. MacKinnon offers no blueprint for an educational utopia. He exposes obvious and sometimes horrifying evils and suggests remedies that he would like to see tried.

HILDA NEATBY

UNIVERSITY OF SASKATCHEWAN

IN THE CAUSE OF EDUCATION. Centennial History of the Ontario Educational Association, 1861-1960. By Edwin C. Guillet. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. Pp. xxiv + 472. \$7.00.

As official historian of The Ontario Educational Association, now in its centennial year, Dr. Guillet has recorded the proceedings of the Association, year by year, for the century of its existence. Although, by intention, a history of the O.E.A., the book is essentially a history of education in Ontario. We have come a long way from the pioneer conditions in the schools of 1860. That the record is as good as it is is due to a number of far-sighted and determined men. The stage was set by Egerton Ryerson in The Public School Act of 1850, establishing compulsory, free education in the public (primary) schools. So far so good. But a system of schools was one thing; educated and trained teachers to man these schools was quite another. No qualification other than the ability to read and write was possessed by some pioneer teachers. "Transient persons and common

idlers" is one of the less offensive descriptions quoted (p. 267) in reminiscences referring to some early teachers. Bernard Shaw's jibe that "those who can, do; those who can't, teach" would have had some force in pioneer days in Ontario. One of Ryerson's early acts was to establish in Toronto a Normal School for the training of teachers, as a result of which pioneer conditions were gradually superseded. The superior type of teachers in our schools today and their high public prestige are due in no small degree to the persistent efforts put forth by Ryerson and by the O.E.A.

The O.E.A. began in 1861 as the Teachers' Association of Canada West and its name has had more than one change. Its early discussions and debates feature the problems which the young province had to face in educating its children. Many of these problems have been satisfactorily resolved, others are still under discussion.

First may be mentioned the question of the status of women and girls as teachers and pupils. Most of the speakers at the conventions favoured equal opportunities for girls and women but progress was slow; even Ryerson, broad-minded as he was, had evidently some doubts on the wisdom of coeducation in the grammar schools, to judge by the pronouncement of his deputy J. G. Hodgins (p. 44). (The first four grammar schools, forerunners of our high schools, were established in Cornwall, Kingston, York and Niagara.) Although young women could be trained to teach, at the Normal School in Toronto, they must be strictly segregated from the men outside the classrooms. The improvement in the status of women in the schools and universities was foreshadowed by many discussions in the O.E.A.

The status of the early grammar schools, which became high schools in 1870, as well as their provincial grants were based partly on the number of pupils studying Latin and Greek, so firm was the classical tradition from the old land. It was inevitable that in this new land a liberalizing of the curriculum would take place. One of the leaders in this movement was the late James L. Hughes, former chief inspector of Toronto schools who, from his sounding-

board in Toronto, impressed his forceful and dominating personality on education in Ontario for many years. His advocacy of kindergartens, physical training, manual training, agriculture and other vocational pursuits hastened the adoption of these innovations. The legacy of this movement is with us today in kindergartens and the technical and composite schools throughout the province. Incidentally Ada Marean Hughes, wife of the inspector, besides being a kindergarten teacher, was an effective advocate of reform in primary education and in the improved status of women.

A question which was pertinaciously discussed over the years was that of the inadequacy of teachers' salaries and pensions. It was not until 1917 that the efforts of the teachers bore fruit in an effective superannuation plan. The discussions on this subject tie in with those on the formation of teachers' unions or federations. These federations, now vigorous and with the force of law, are independent of the O.E.A. but much of the discussion which gave rise to them was carried on in the meetings of this organization.

A topic which appears in the early minutes and persists throughout the century relates to the desirability of larger administrative school units—county or township boards instead of school section boards. This change, which has been partially effected in the province, required much persuasion and will require more before all the old red school houses give way to larger regional schools.

In the century of its existence a great many educators provided inspiration at the annual meetings. Tribute should be paid to the enlightened views which many of them expressed on education. The speakers included primary and secondary school teachers, inspectors, and university men. To these should be added some members of the clergy and of the legal profession. The list is too long for inclusion here; accounts of their contributions, together with their portraits, are to be found in the book under review.

The O.E.A. is fortunate in having its record assembled by so meticulous a historian as Dr. Guillet. In the kaleidoscopic manner in which he has carried out his

task the reader is forced to accommodate himself to a change of subject and speaker on almost every page. This was inevitable with the type of treatment which the author selected. Perhaps in a later volume we may have a treatment in which separate topics or strands are isolated for continuous treatment without the interruptions which result when all references to each topic occur in a strict chronological order.

NORMAN MILLER

KINGSTON

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN CANADA. BIBLIOGRAPHIE DE L'ENSEIGNEMENT SUPERIEUR AU CANADA. By Robin S. Harris and Arthur Tremblay. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. Presses Universitaires Laval. 1960. Pp. xxv + 158. \$6.50.

The first fruit of the Committee on the History of Higher Education in Canada, established 1956-57 by the National Conference of Canadian Universities, with the support of the Carnegie Corporation, is the bibliography under review, inaugurating a series to be known as *Studies in Higher Education in Canada*.

There are close to 4,000 entries restricted to secondary sources — books, pamphlets, theses, dissertations, and periodical articles, chronologically arranged. The decision to omit alumni publications was perhaps necessary as these are not normally indexed and complete files are sometimes lacking even in the places of origin. It is, nevertheless, a serious lack. Certainly for Queen's University the files of the *Queen's Review*, 1927 to date, provide an indispensable source of information on the recent history of the university. (A card index to the *Review* has been prepared by the reference department of the Douglas Library.)

The bibliography has been divided into two unequal parts. Part I (pp. 3-23) supplies a list of references on "Canadian Culture" and "Canadian Education". Part II (pp. 27-138) deals specifically with works on higher education: "history and organization" (including sections on twenty-six univer-

sities and one section on "Les Collèges Classiques"); "curriculum and teaching" (covering the various faculties and disciplines); and two final sections headed "The Professor" and "The Student". The work is bi-lingual, with introductions and subject headings in English and in French.

According to the Introduction, "An authority in the field has vetted the draft of each section . . . a McGill librarian the subsection for McGill . . ." Had a draft of the subsection on Queen's been submitted to the present reviewer, it could have been significantly augmented.

H. P. GUNDY

QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY

Cuba

CUBA, ANATOMY OF A REVOLUTION. By Leo Huberman and Paul M. Sweezy. New York: Monthly Review Press. 1960. Pp. 176. (16 pp. of photographs). \$3.50.

The irresponsible reportage (excepting CBC's excellent "profile" last fall) of the Cuban situation over the past two years makes this book indispensable. While it is by no means a "definitive text", it is a brilliantly factual account of what has happened in Cuba and why. It avoids, on the one hand, starchy-eyed worship of the underdog "bearded saints", and on the other hand, the unreasonable fear of an international Communist plot.

Messrs. Huberman and Sweezy have, to be sure, a "point of view". They are socialists, hence favourably disposed toward any movement which dares "talk back" to Standard Oil. But if anything, this point of view enhances the value of the book. It is in the author's own interest, as professionals in the diagnosis of social dynamics, to see facts as objectively as possible in order to predict the course of events.

Their book is divided into three parts: a brief historical description of the land, the people, and the extent of foreign domination in Cuban affairs. Second, they give one of the most exciting narratives of the revolution (from Moncada to Havana) that I have read — it includes portions of

Fidel Castro's five-hour, extemporaneous courtroom plea made on October 16, 1953, which the authors quite justly consider one of history's great speeches for freedom. Finally, they perform an extended analysis of the present Cuban political and economic structure. Recognizing that the Castro régime finds its major support among the poor peasants, the authors are able to explain its behaviour more satisfactorily than previous writers have. What often appears, outside Cuba, to be erratic and willful makes clear sense indeed when examined in terms of Cuba's under-privileged population.

Perhaps the most striking feature of the book is its predictions. Writing after a visit to Cuba in March, 1960, the authors had necessarily to consider the effects on Cuba of the concerted opposition of American sugar and oil industries. They wrote *before* the United States cut the sugar quota and imposed an oil embargo, and they foresaw the consequent increase of Communist influence in case these measures were taken. Given the provocative economic sanctions imposed by Washington, the book takes on the appearance of a prologue or backdrop for a major international—or at least Caribbean—tragedy.

Above all, the book will supply readers with an understanding of the Cuban situation which can assist in creating, if not a more tolerant attitude, then at least a climate of opinion in which rational judgment rather than frightened hysteria can prevail.

D. H. STEWART

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Polish Communism

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF POLAND. An Outline of History. By M. K. Dziewanowski. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. Toronto: S. J. Reginald Saunders & Co. Ltd. 1959. Pp. 369. \$9.00.

In between the two social democratic parties which played the major rôle in transforming Marxism into modern Com-

munist, those of Germany and Russia, there emerged in the late stages of the nineteenth century the Social Democratic Party of Poland. For over half a century the party remained of singularly little consequence, although several of its members, notably, Rosa Luxemburg, Feliks Dzierzynski and Karol Radek, achieved considerable prominence in the International Communist movement. In Poland, however, the fortunes of the party ran low; indeed, with the approach of the Second World War when its leadership was virtually wiped out in the "great purges", they turned from bad into worse. It was only in the 'forties that the party, backed by Soviet military might, made a swift comeback and soon seized power in the country.

It is the fascinating story of this party which Professor Dziewanowski traces in his book. While maintaining the focus of his attention on the Communist movement, the author relates its development to the stormy currents of Poland's modern history. Against this background the underlying theme of *The Communist Party of Poland* is the endemic conflict within its ranks between the two forces: those who adhered unreservedly to the primacy of the Communist doctrine; and those who strove to combine social revolution with Polish national interests. It was precisely over this issue that the party split for the first time in the 1890's; it was over the same matter that the opposing factions clashed head on in October 1956.

The book, as is indicated in the title, is merely an outline of history of the Polish Communist Party. Even so it is still of great value. The first two parts, dealing with the Social Democratic Party of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania, 1893-1918, and its successor the Communist Party of Poland, 1918-1939, respectively, are especially interesting. Indeed, the book is the first attempt at presenting the early stages of the Polish Communist movement in an objective and scholarly manner ever made, not only in the West but in Poland as well.

ADAM BROMKE

MCGILL UNIVERSITY

Management and Labour

SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT AND THE UNIONS, 1900-1932: A HISTORICAL ANALYSIS. By Milton J. Nadworny. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. Toronto: S. J. Reginald Saunders & Co. Ltd. 1955. Pp. ix + 187. \$4.95.

TAYLORISM AT WATERTOWN ARSENAL: SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT IN ACTION, 1908-1915. By Hugh G. J. Aitken. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. Toronto: S. J. Reginald Saunders & Co. Ltd. 1960. Pp. ix + 269. \$7.50.

The wisdom of hindsight may often seem closely akin to the views of the theologian who defined Hell as "knowledge of what might have been". Consequently, it is not entirely surprising that some people continue to regard history as "bunk" preferring to seek future salvation in formulas and plans. In view of the prevalence of such an attitude in an age of scientific and technological revolution, the two books under review are both timely and thought-provoking.

Nadworny's work examines the growth of scientific management and the different responses of the trade unions to the various phases of the movement. Aitken's book, on the other hand, deals with "the installation of the Taylor system in a particular manufacturing plant". Both are significant contributions to the history of management and in a sense complementary to each other. Nadworny's general analysis of the historical development of Taylorism must of necessity leave the reader tantalized with many pertinent questions unanswered. Aitken suggests possible answers to some of these problems as he examines the interaction of industrial engineers, army officers and civilian employees in Watertown Arsenal.

Both books are to be commended to students and businessmen alike. The amazing intransigence of F. W. Taylor, his amateurish approach to political issues, and his peculiar views regarding human motivation still survive. Happily, however, there are also persons who are willing to attempt to bring about the necessary "mental revolution" required to create true co-operation between management and labour. Nadworny shows how Taylor's associates were able to

transform a rigid system into scientific management which was acceptable to the unions. Aitken points to the fact that the Ordnance Department preserved the essentials of Taylor's methodology and yet eventually introduced effective labour-management co-operation.

F. J. L. YOUNG

QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY

THE WAGE RATE UNDER COLLECTIVE BARGAINING. By J. Pen, translated by T. S. Preston. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1959. Pp. xiv + 216. \$7.95.

Professor Pen, Professor of Economics at the University of Groningen, wrote this book some ten years ago and had it published in 1950.

The author's purpose is to describe a theory of the way in which money wages are actually set in collective bargaining. In the first place he sets out a description of the environment of collective bargaining, describing the structure of the labour market as he sees it, the place of the union and the employer in that market and explaining the concepts he proposes to use in developing his theory.

The author submits that few economists have considered the process of price making by bargaining. However, he does recognize the work of such writers as Edgeworth, Cournot, Zeuthen, Hicks and Shackle. His analysis of the theories of these writers and his explanation of their short-comings for his own purposes constitute one of the most interesting features of the book.

Professor Pen proposes that his theory "offers a complete systematization of the bargaining phenomena, without certain aspects being dropped because they are 'uneconomic' or 'irrational'". He sets out a formula into which, he submits, all the various elements of any bargaining situation may be fitted to reveal the outcome of the bargaining. Briefly, his theory is that the actual money wage is set within a range by the pressures the parties engaged in the bargaining process are able to bring to bear on each other. The interesting feature of his theory is his identification of

the elements that underlie these pressures and his description of the equilibrium that will emerge from the conflicting pressures.

The writing is clear and the exposition can be followed without too much difficulty. However, the theory could be set out without the use of symbols which do complicate the work somewhat.

C. H. CURTIS

QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY

The Public Service

CANADIAN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION. Edited by J. E. Hodgetts and D. C. Corbett. Toronto: Macmillan Co. of Canada Ltd. 1960. Pp. xiv + 575. \$6.25.

With the possible exception of a full treatise on the same subject by either or both editors, it would be difficult to imagine a more welcome addition to the literature of politics than *Canadian Public Administration*. Though others have produced useful monographs on particular aspects of the public service, this book of readings, carefully selected and deftly edited, is the first book-length attempt to survey all the major aspects of bureaucracy in the contemporary state, and it is certain to become immediately a standard reference work.

The editors' own views, that the study of public administration "should be a means of liberal education, leading to knowledge of oneself and others, broadening the sympathies and freeing the mind from prejudices engendered by familiar social circumstances" are presented in a lucid introductory note, and throughout the text, in short essays, and pertinent comments on the bibliographies offered with each part of the book, the editors' reassuring and undogmatic opinions add perspective to the fifty-two readings. The readings are culled from three major sources: predominantly British and American in the theoretical sections; and thereafter predominantly Canadian, in a surprisingly varied series of pragmatic essays by journeymen civil servants and professors.

No book of readings can be stronger than its sources, and it is a significant com-

mentary on Canadian bureaucracy that except for observations on one or two specific subjects, no thoughtful critique of the public service by an elected legislator can be found in this book. Further (again except for casual references), no appraisal of the special problems of public administration in a bilingual state is to be found here. For these omissions the editors may not be to blame: the book reflects accurately the fact that administration in Canada has developed very largely from roots in the English-speaking world, with successive Parliaments paying little attention to any but the most obvious aspects of the development. Yet some of the most revealing comments on the problems of a bilingual administration have been made in Parliament, on those obvious aspects.

But no anthology can satisfy everybody, and often not even the anthologist himself. The editors of this admirable volume have collected these readings with so discriminating a hand that a reader would be hard put to it to suggest any single item that could be profitably omitted to make room for something else.

NORMAN WARD

UNIVERSITY OF SASKATCHEWAN

Studies in Government

PRESIDENTIAL POWER: THE POLITICS OF LEADERSHIP. By Richard E. Neustadt. London: John Wiley & Sons. Toronto: General Publishing Co. Ltd. 1960. Pp. xli + 224. \$5.95.

THE PRESIDENCY: CRISIS AND REGENERATION. By Herman Finer. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1960. Pp. xi + 374. \$6.95.

THE MAJOR GOVERNMENTS OF MODERN EUROPE. By Herman Finer. Evanston, Ill.: Row, Peterson & Co. 1960. Pp. xv + 736. \$8.50.

Professors Neustadt and Finer have added to the growing shelf of studies devoted to the American Presidency in

recent months. The concern with this office is a natural outgrowth of its immense importance as one of the two places of decision in which the fate of humanity may be decided. This awesome fact combined with the unreasonable demands that the office makes of the man naturally leads to its being placed under a microscope.

Professor Neustadt's book is an investigation into the Presidency as a centre of power. His method is case studies of the Truman and Eisenhower administrations. He shows very clearly the limitations upon a President as chief executive. Not only is he opposed by factions in Congress and state capitals, but his own cabinet, chosen by him, harbours men opposed to aspects of his programme, and able to frustrate its implementation by withholding information from the President, failing to act on his instructions or even assailing them in public. Indeed the President is revealed as quite powerless without adequate administrative support, which is often lacking. The President's own advisers are revealed as his natural enemies. "Nobody helps him to see save as he helps himself." The case of President Truman's position at the time of the crossing of the 38th parallel in Korea is especially revealing. Nobody went to him to urge that the armies be held at or near the parallel, and the President had no desire to override the tactical decisions of his generals. As a result a vital political decision was taken by subordinate military commanders without the President being made aware of the supreme political significance of the move. "When it comes to power, nobody is expert but the President."

President Eisenhower's staff system appears disastrous for his hold on personal power. The persons to whom he delegated powers became his only sources of information about the matters in question and the delegation of power turned out to be virtually irreversible. As a consequence matters of high policy, indeed of war and peace, were being decided by appointed officials with little control by the President, and no responsibility to the people. Professor Neustadt is convincing when he argues that a President cannot be above politics, and therefore must wade through the state papers to decisions. The office is "no place for amateurs"; so the President should be

chosen from "among experienced politicians of extraordinary temperament".

Professor Finer goes on to demand radical changes in the Presidency to meet the demands of modern conditions. He sees the office as an elective kingship with enormous powers for good and evil, but very poorly served with the machinery to facilitate responsible decision-making. Also the man is chosen by "the most ramshackle, the flimsiest method ever used to select the supreme leader of a nation". He argues that passion is needed to accomplish great things — yet the best way to become President is to be silent about your political philosophy. Consequently unsuitable men are often elevated to the Presidency, and the burden is too much for them. They "let George do it" and as a result important things go undone. The President finds he cannot assimilate all the facts his advisers tell him, and this is especially true when he is not experienced in government or in common policy making.

To remedy this situation Professor Finer suggests that a President and eleven Vice-Presidents be elected on a common ticket. Each Vice-President should be given responsibility for an area of government activity and would sit in The House of Representatives and defend his stewardship. The election for the President, Vice-Presidents and both houses of Congress would take place simultaneously every four years. In other words Professor Finer would move the American constitution closer to the British, thereby giving the President a cabinet in which collective decisions can be taken and a Congress before which the executive will defend its policies against opposition criticism. A less radical (and more politically acceptable) suggestion is that a permanent, professional higher civil service replace the parade of temporary political appointees now filling the top positions in the departments of government.

Both of these books reveal serious weaknesses in the processes of selection of Presidents and in the way they are aided to perform their massive assignments. It is to be hoped that they, and the many others like them, will lead the American political leaders to look to the reform of their constitution which is so often seen as a kind of sacred cow.

The Major Governments of Modern Europe by Professor Finer is a thorough revision of his text on comparative government. The new edition is shorter and more simplified in presentation than the previous one, and is brought up to date. Much new material on the new French institutions has been added, as well as some on the Soviet Union, Germany and Great Britain. While intended as a text book for university students the book provides a useful and up-to-date reference for the interested citizen.

HUGH THORBURN

QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY

The Individual and Society

THE LONG WAY TO FREEDOM. By James T. Shotwell. Indianapolis and New York: Bobbs-Merrill. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart. 1960. Pp. 639. \$8.25.

I must confess that when this somewhat massive book first came into my hands, I was physically repulsed by it, despite my respect for its author and veneration for its theme. It is not a heavy book as American books go, and the typography is decent, if undistinguished. But the pages are filled to the brim. They look like men with foreheads. They do not conform to a good standard of design. Had they been made to do so, the number of pages and, therefore, the price of the book, would have had to be increased. It is a pity that the commercial problem in publishing so important a work could not have been solved more neatly.

The work itself deserves every attention. Professor Shotwell's place in academic and international affairs is well known, and everyone who has admired him for what he has been doing for teaching and for peace since the first of the two World Wars will be glad that as Professor Emeritus he has crowned his labours with a history of freedom. His theme, so pertinent today, is the familiar one of the relationship between individual and society. It merges into the problem of how freedom can be not only maintained, but increased as the scope of government continues to be enlarged. For

the purposes of definition Professor Shotwell associates freedom with responsibility and with "the equilibrium between the needs and desires of the individual and those of other people". Freedom is thus discerned as a function of justice. Such terms are inherited wisdom, but they need to be repeated, and their implications re-examined in every generation, particularly our own when a free mind is not everywhere an acceptable substitute for a full stomach.

The study embraces the three agencies of liberation in history — religion, politics and economics, though by what he describes as an almost incredible paradox, these agencies have also created the greatest impediments to freedom. As "the controls which have governed conduct" derive from pre-history, the origins are sought in a first chapter on primitive society. Since Asia is "the great reservoir of religion", and in the last century has begun to be convulsed by western influences, that continent is given its chapters — though only two out of twenty-six, there being relatively little to record about freedom in the Orient. After another on the great religions, the book surveys the tracts of western experience from the Greek city states and the Roman world, through the Middle Ages into the modern era in which the English, American and French revolutions are challenged by the Russian. As was to be expected from such an authorship, there is an ample apportionment of space to that phase of history which we can still regard as contemporary, beginning with the First World War and the transformation of Communism from theory to the politics of world power. No fewer than eleven chapters lead through a landscape well known to Professor Shotwell in his own lifetime. The topography will not be strange to the student, but he will profit from viewing it again in the company of such a guide.

The concept of history as the story of liberty entertained by Lord Acton seems to belong to a healthier climate than our own. Benedetto Croce lived under the shadow of its denial. Croce could affirm the "religion of liberty" in the most unfavourable circumstances — those of personal risk. Yet he could close a history inspired by the liberal ideal with this remarkable admonition: "Work according to the line that is here laid down for you, with your whole

self, every day, every hour, in your every act; and trust in divine Providence, which knows more than we individuals do and works with us, inside us and over us." (*History of Europe in the Nineteenth Century*, p. 362) Though Shotwell does not commit himself in such explicit terms, his book makes its own positive demand on the reader. No such rehearsal of the classic situations and texts of the history of freedom could do otherwise. Despite the doubt and discouragement that pervade the liberal thought of the West, the strong initiatives of the Soviets and the immaturities of the new nations, this book is written in optimism.

One of the lessons drawn from the past to justify hopeful expectation for the future is that secular change will so transform both Capitalism and Communism that compatibility will be possible, as happened between militant Protestantism and the forces of the Counter Reformation. A conclusion of more immediate application is that science has made war an anachronism no longer capable of meeting the purposes of the political institution which it is supposed to serve. Professor Shotwell is as well aware that freedom is not to be confused with democracy, however, as that the facets of freedom are many, and need to be considered in every possible aspect, including those of ordinary lives and everyday employments. He must know also that his book is the stuff of disputation. He has told us that the way is long. "Civilization is only just beginning to show the glory and nobility of man in a world in which freedom is another name for justice." It is a book to be read by our youth.

ERIC HARRISON

QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY

Empire to Commonwealth

THE YEARS OF CHALLENGE: THE COMMONWEALTH AND THE BRITISH EMPIRE, 1945-1958. By Don Taylor. London: Robert Hale. Toronto: Thomas Allen. 1959. Pp. 255. \$5.50.

The editor of *The New Commonwealth* has chosen to present this concise and popu-

lar account of postwar Empire and Commonwealth affairs as a series of annual swings around those portions of the globe where the Union Jack still flew in late 1945. Readers interested in particular areas or themes might find this approach disconcerting but it does accentuate the complexity of the problems often simultaneously facing those charged with the direction of British imperial affairs. The procrastination so frequently followed by their predecessors was no longer a practical policy for the imperial administrators of the postwar era. Sentiments of nationalism and self-assertion amongst subject peoples had grown too strong and Britain's power position was too weak.

Working from the home base of a war-exhausted Britain, plagued by recurring balance of payments crises, and with popular interest preoccupied with the creation of the welfare state at home and the developing cold war on the international scene—all factors which had repercussions in the colonies—the directors of British imperial policy displayed pliability, imagination, and resourcefulness unmatched by their counterparts in the other old-style colonial powers. Even a partial listing of the problems they faced is impressive. An early major achievement was the transfer of power in India and its environs with the resultant transformation of the old white and predominantly British Commonwealth into a wider, multi-racial association whose member states after 1949 were no longer necessarily "united by a common allegiance to the Crown". Also noteworthy were: the more precipitate drive toward self-government and independence in West Africa: the exacerbation of native-settler relations complicating similar moves in Central and East Africa: the mutual repercussions of British and South African native policies throughout that troubled continent: the varied problems besetting federation schemes in Africa, the West Indies, and Malaya: the winding up of the rule of the white rajahs of Sarawak and the neighbouring British North Borneo Company, relics of earlier days and ways of empire building: and the several problems which at various times have brought British Guiana, Malta, Cyprus, and Singapore into the headlines of the world's press. The foregoing themes them-

selves would provide ample material for many books, but in his modest volume the author also has attempted to indicate the attitudes in the old dominions to changing Commonwealth and world relationships.

Taylor's interpretive account reflects the bias of an informed conservative. Recognizing blunders such as the East African ground-nuts scheme he nevertheless approves of most of the imperial policy of the Labour government between 1945 and 1951. They appreciated sooner than their Conservative successors that in the new era "Britain could no longer dictate events. It had now become a matter of anticipating and guiding them" (p. 153). A symptom of Britain's new position is the concern the author betrays for the failing of Americans to appreciate either the positive accomplishments of colonial rule or the problems involved in a premature transfer of power. Of interest to Canadians is the enthusiasm with which John Diefenbaker's advent to power in Ottawa is hailed. Two chapter headings, "The Man and the Hour" and "Appointment with Destiny", testify to the impact on Taylor, writing this book in the winter of 1958-59, of a Canadian voice expressing what British imperialists had come to regard as un-Canadian enthusiasm for closer Commonwealth ties.

Events have already outdated a number of the author's speculations. Although this reader has found many of Taylor's interpretations stimulating rather than persuasive he has found the text remarkably free of the factual errors which are apt to creep into a book of such scope and compression. The index will possibly meet the demands of most readers, but the bibliography is much too scanty, the only journal mentioned, for instance, being that which the author edits. Surely even the general reader should be referred to *The Round Table*.

Opinions may differ whether the challenging years since 1945 have witnessed an evolving Commonwealth or a dissolving Empire. There can be no doubt that the events which have transpired are of importance to us all. This first available general

history of the Empire-Commonwealth in these days is, therefore, highly recommended.

K. A. MACKIRDY

UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON

Ghana

GHANA: The Road to Independence (1919-1957). By F. M. Bourret. Stanford: Stanford University Press. London: Oxford University Press. 1960. Pp. xiii + 246. \$5.75.

A GEOGRAPHY OF GHANA. By E. A. Boateng. Cambridge: University Press. Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada Ltd. 1959. Pp. xvi + 205. \$2.50.

THE GHANA REPORT. By G. H. Wittman, Inc., 111 Broadway, New York 6. 1959. Pp. xii + 236. \$25.00.

The advent of fifteen new African nations in 1960 will make for a plethora of books and publications to follow. Their respective authors will attempt to re-discover that vast continent in terms of its transition from colonial to independent status. In this connection, Ghana has a head start since it was the first British colony in tropical Africa to achieve independence in March, 1957, and subsequently, to declare itself as a republic within the Commonwealth on July 1st, 1960.

Events have been moving so fast in contemporary Africa that it is hardly to be expected that any of the three publications under review are fully up-to-date. Professor Bourret leaves us at the threshold of independence; Mr. Boateng completed his research in mid-1957 and the Wittman experts conducted their investigations during the summer of 1959. On the other hand, these three welcome contributions display the varied types of writing that we are likely to have duplicated in the case of a number of other African countries: the scholarly and well-documented historical and political survey of the forty years preceding independence; the beginning of a local interpretation of the country's resources; by a young scholar; based on his own experiences and field work as a geographer; and the short-term-investigations

carried out by a corps of experts from the United States who present their crash-assessment from the commercial, economic, and sociological points of view.

This revised edition of Professor Bourret's earlier study is supplemented by two chapters which extend it to 1957 or beyond the original period examined up to the end of World War II. It is, therefore, already out-dated by a short but most important three-year-era of independence to republican status. While these few most exciting and eventful years could be the basis for a further revision yet the real ending of much of Professor Bourret's tale properly belongs in this current publication. The regional struggles and tensions which he has so adequately and annotated set forth have at least on the institutional side been stilled with the subsequent short-lived appearance of regional assemblies which were called for under the terms of independence. Such regional assemblies in the five Regions created in 1957 (a sixth Region followed in 1959) did meet briefly and formally in 1958 but have given way since that time to a more centralized scheme of administration. But this is perhaps unfairly commenting about something which has not been included rather than what has been said — and excusably because the events had not occurred during the period of examination.

While there have been several useful geographical appraisals of West Africa made by outsiders over the years, Mr. Boateng's contribution is a most welcome addition because of his localized and intimate knowledge. Not only will his students at the University College of Ghana benefit from such a textbook but students and general readers elsewhere will be aided in visualizing The Land, Human Response and Regional Pattern of Ghana as these main topics have been set forth. Those readers who perhaps knew Ghana from the published annual Colonial Office Reports on the Gold Coast — which incidentally were often a valuable and sometimes the only reliable source of current information for this and other remote colonies' existence — will welcome this more meaty version of the many similar subjects covered in both. It might be noted, too, that the photographs which are included have been wisely chosen.

Finally, the Ghana Report as delivered by the G. H. Wittman firm of economic consultants is, as already indicated, the result of a team of five specialists who cover a country and its people in that many weeks — viewing, interviewing, assessing and reporting on what they have seen and heard. Perhaps this limited but fresh and virile approach is more desired in some quarters than the long-range-studies-version; after all, the longer one studies a topic the more one realizes how little one knows about it. However, some will be concerned over the perspective of such short-term appraisals; for instance, some unrelated event occurring during the time of the reporting may be interpreted out of context and out of keeping with what happened before and/or subsequently — neither of the latter being taken into account by the short-term reporters. However, a compensating factor in this case is that Ghana's resource development and investment possibilities have been interpreted in a language fully understandable by the potential American business man, investor or manufacturer. No final summation or opinion is made or offered although a United Kingdom Government report, following the visit of an official British economic and trade mission at about the same time as the Wittman survey, clearly indicated definite investment possibilities in the country which were being and, it was emphasized, should be further encouraged by foreign capital.

PHILIP STUCHEN

OTTAWA

Parnell

THE FALL OF PARNELL 1890-91. By F. S. L. Lyons. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1960. Pp. xii + 362. \$6.50.

The story of the meteoric career of Charles Stewart Parnell remains one of the most fascinating in the history of the late Victorian era. No man except O'Connell ever made himself so completely the acknowledged leader of the Irish nation, and this within a few years of entering public

life and despite his Protestant religion. Historians have been puzzled to account for the extraordinary ascendancy the man attained over his fellow countrymen. A few years ago C. C. O'Brien in his very able book *Parnell and the Irish Party* went a long way towards explaining the secret of Parnell's success, in terms of instinctive Irish deference to an aristocrat who was ready to throw his lot in with them, their love of a man of mystery, but particularly of Parnell's supreme skill in satisfying both the moderates and the extremists in the movement, sailing first on one tack and knowing exactly when to turn to the other. With the successful vindication of his name in the exposure of the Pigott forgeries he seemed to reach the pinnacle of his power and influence, but disaster swiftly followed.

The sordid details of the divorce court showed that this Irish idol had but feet of clay. What were his devoted followers to do? The first instinct of course was to stand by him in adversity, hoping that somehow he might clear his name. But the challenge brought out all that was worst in Parnell. Human pride seemed to replace the lofty patriotism that had been the core of his leadership. With his repudiation by the English Liberals whose alliance was all important to Home Rule, the censure of him by the Irish bishops, and his failure to clear his name, it should have become obvious that it would be impossible for him to remain, but he refused to bow to the inevitable. He stayed to fight, not the English Unionists but the Liberal allies and the majority in his own party, who at last reluctantly realized he must go. By the unscrupulous tactics of his famous manifesto directed mainly against Gladstone and by his abuse of his powers as chairman of the party to parry the demand for his resignation he determined the lines of the ensuing struggle. Led by the sharp-tongued Tim Healey, the more hostile of his ex-followers treated him as a Lucifer cast out of Heaven. No words were too strong to denounce the man who a few months earlier was Ireland's uncrowned king. Instinctively one's sympathy goes out to a great man so mistreated, but Lyons' dispassionate and scholarly account makes it clear that he brought it all on his own head. The break and the fall were inevitable once Captain O'Shea decided

to bring his case to court after years of apparently playing the cuckold for reasons on which the historian can still do no more than speculate. It was a mercy that death, hastened by extreme exertions in his own cause, finally brought an end to Parnell's tragic story. But it did not heal the wound in the party, which had gone too deep and which would fester another eleven years.

The first half of this book is a balanced and detailed reconstruction of the familiar story of the divorce, the intervention of Gladstone and the repudiation of Parnell by the majority of his own followers in Committee Room Fifteen. The second and more important half, which is based largely on primary sources, fills the gap of ten months from December 1890 to October 1891 that separates the beginning of the detailed narrative of the author's earlier volume, *The Irish Parliamentary Party, 1890-1910*, and the end of the equally detailed account in O'Brien's more recent book. It may be questioned whether there is sufficient justification here for a new book and regretted that the author had not included the chapters now published on this crucial ten month period in his earlier volume, for they do explain why it took so long to bring the two factions together again after Parnell's death. Nevertheless it should be said that the present work is a scholarly and skillful piece of historical research and for the student, if not for the general reader, it presents a fascinating historical drama with great clarity and precision.

J. B. CONACHER

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

Canadiana

A SOURCE-BOOK OF CANADIAN HISTORY. By J. H. Stewart Reid, Kenneth McNaught and Harry S. Crowe. Toronto: Longmans, Green and Company. 1959. Pp. xvi + 472. \$6.50.

This excellent volume, which is well-arranged and well-edited, will provide a very useful collection of source material for teachers and students in courses on

Canadian history. The authors have made effective use of a wide variety of material including "state papers, letters, diaries, travellers' accounts, legislative debates, records of proceedings, periodicals, memoirs, books of opinion". A chief value of this collection is that it helps to bring the past to life in a manner difficult to achieve in text books, by the use of vivid sketches such as Captain Knox's account of the events preceding the assault of Quebec, Donald Smith's description of the period preceding the execution of Louis Riel and the documents on the Winnipeg General Strike of 1919. Also of value are the numerous documents giving the opinions of individuals on specific issues such as Carleton's view on the French Canadians, Egerton Ryerson on the War of 1812 and notably "Some Recent Views of the 'Canadian Question'" in the final section of the volume.

The volume is particularly strong in its political material. Not only does it document such well-worked themes as the settlement after the conquest, the Rebellion of 1837, the winning of Responsible Government and the achievement of Confederation; but it has much useful and less familiar material on the development of political parties since 1867.

The sections on economic history are largely, although not entirely, concerned with economic developments which had obvious political results, e.g. the depression in 1849, and the story of railway building since 1867. The development of the fur trade is extensively documented. The authors did well to include H. A. Innis's penetrating discussion of the influences of economic determinants in Canadian history.

The authors are careful to point out that "a number of themes have been either ignored or touched upon only lightly". They hope to produce a second volume and indicate some of the themes which will be treated more fully. This reviewer hopes that in addition to these themes the authors will devote attention to a number of others, including the development of thought in Canada particularly in the fields of religion and philosophy, the frontier thesis, metro-

politanism, and education both at the university and secondary levels.

D. C. MASTERS

BISHOP'S UNIVERSITY

THE LETTERS AND JOURNALS OF SIMON FRASER, 1806-1808. Edited and with an Introduction by W. Kaye Lamb. Toronto: The Macmillan Co. of Canada. 1960. Pp. 292. \$5.00.

Of his contemporaries, only David Thompson, the famous explorer and surveyor, rendered Simon Fraser due homage and recognition. In his honour, Thompson named the treacherous waterway which Fraser in the years 1806 to 1808 traced from its source in the Rocky Mountains to its ultimate destination. No other favours were won: knighthood, a reward bestowed earlier on Alexander Mackenzie for northern exploration and for discovery of an overland route to the Pacific, seems never to have been offered Fraser. The journal which would have established his fame as explorer and proved his ability, tenacity and endurance, was not published until twenty-seven years after his death and some eighty years after he experienced his ordeal in descending the tumultuous river. No biographer made him his subject. "The most neglected of the major explorers of Canada" waited in vain to come into his own.

The recognition so long overdue Fraser, a fur trader who opened the way for the extension of Canada's boundaries to the Pacific Ocean, must surely follow the publication of a new, and carefully annotated, edition of his 1808 journal.

Dr. Lamb has worked from an original manuscript which is now deposited in the Toronto Public Library. It is the same manuscript which was used by the Hon. L. F. R. Masson in preparing his edition of Fraser's 1808 journal in 1889-90. But Masson employed a heavy editorial pen and he did not have at hand the body of supporting material which the Dominion Archivist, with his talent for unearthing new manuscripts, has succeeded in bringing together.

In the present volume, Dr. Lamb has been able to include a fragment of a second 1808 journal, edited from a transcript now in the Bancroft Library, University of California; Fraser's 1806 journal, published from a transcript deposited in the same place; letters written by Fraser between 1806 and 1808 while he was in New Caledonia; and miscellaneous Fraser family papers. In other words, all the extant Fraser material is now available within a single set of boards. Furthermore, this material has been illuminated by an introduction which places the great 1808 expedition in its historical setting and which comes as close as will probably ever be possible to supplying a full-scale biography of the explorer.

As editor of Fraser's journals and papers, Dr. Lamb has special qualifications: intimate knowledge, long held, of the letters and journals of other fur traders on the Pacific watershed; extensive experience in editing this type of historical material; and the familiarity with the terrain through which Fraser travelled in British Columbia which can be achieved only by the native-born. In addition, he has particular talent as editor, for he is sensitive and knows how to preserve the essence of the writer's feeling at the moment of composition. By doing as little tampering as possible with spelling and style, he succeeds in retaining the flavour of the original entry.

A particular feature of this new edition of the 1808 journal is the careful identification of locations and of Indian tribes. The accurate relating of episodes to places and persons thus makes vivid what Sir George Simpson referred to as the "great exertions and unwearied perseverance of Fraser and Stuart".

Whatever criticism one might offer of the editing would have to be based on such minute points that the reviewer would appear to carp. For example, were not the "thistles of a deminutive growth", which pierced the shoes of the explorers (p. 156) cacti? Rather than check such trivialities, it is better to acknowledge indebtedness for the establishment of such a fact as the actual point of the expedition's departure.

Fraser's journey to the sea was re-enacted one hundred and fifty years after the event during British Columbia's celebration of

Centennial Year in 1958. Now, almost two years later, Dr. Lamb has brought to the attention of the whole Canadian public not only a major work of exploration, but journals which greatly enrich the body of our historical literature.

MARGARET A. ORMSBY

UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

THE DIARY OF SIMEON PERKINS, 1780-1789. Edited with an Introduction by D. C. Harvey and with Notes by Bruce Ferguson. Toronto: The Champlain Society. 1958. Pp. 531.

Simeon Perkins (1735-1812), merchant, trader, shipowner, local and provincial dignitary of Liverpool, Nova Scotia, kept a diary between 1766 and 1812. The first section of it was published by the Champlain Society, edited by the late H. A. Innis, in 1948. This second volume covering 1780-1789 is edited by D. C. Harvey, and has received more care than its predecessor. Dr. Harvey deserves our thanks for presenting, in his Introduction, the Diarist in relation to his environment—in terms of events, geography, the growth of provincial and town institutions, religion, and, to an extent, economics.

The Diary portrays the vicissitudes of life in a new sea-trading community where religion was emotional, agriculture minimal, and where dependence upon the Port of Halifax was both a curse and a necessity. The impact of the American Rebellion on all of this is noted in stark terms. Privateering, for instance, was no romance. It was a desperate attempt to stave off economic extinction, and Perkins found that profits seldom exceeded losses.

One must note that the editor's remarks concerning economic affairs seem insufficient. It is quite possible that Perkins' greatest importance as a recorder rests more on his activity as an Atlantic shipper and trader, than on his work as a public administrator. If this be so, then the Introduction would have profited from a background description of the Atlantic seaboard money and trading market, and of the cyclical and seasonal changes in the movement of staple

commodities. In the first volume Innis had some penetrating things to say but they were not consistently developed in such a way as to make Perkins' reference to his main interest in life intelligible. Perhaps another volume will remedy this apparent lack.

The map at the end is of antiquarian interest but not a handy reference guide. The Notes, insofar as they concern the identification of persons mentioned by Perkins, and they mostly do, are a model of informative craftsmanship. One notes with regret that the general editor has excised Dr. Ferguson's name in listing the book amongst the publications of the Champlain Society at the end of the volume. This was surely a joint endeavour and needs to be advertised as such.

DONALD M. SCHURMAN

THE ROYAL MILITARY COLLEGE OF CANADA

Philosophy

THE VOICE OF POETRY IN THE CONVERSATION OF MANKIND. By Michael Oakeshott. London: Bowes and Bowes. Toronto: British Book Service Ltd. 1959. Pp. 63. \$2.20.

What has been variously described in the history of thought as the life of the mind, the realms of spirit or the modes of human experience is in this work given a new twist and characterized as the conversation of mankind. Man is distinguished from the animal world and the civilized man from the barbarian not by his ability to reason cogently, important as that is, but by the ability to participate in this conversation. Indeed education in the broadest sense is an initiation into the human conversation and the intellectual and moral habits appropriate to it, a process of acquiring facility in the various conversational idioms—the idiom of practical activity, of history, of science and of poetry—which make up the “unrehearsed intellectual adventure” of mankind.

Professor Oakeshott is critical of those contemporary philosophers who have at-

tempted to impose a single character upon human speech, to reduce the conversation to the idiom appropriate in science. For philosophy, though not itself a specific contribution to the conversation, arises out of it as a reflection on the quality and style of each participating voice and the relationship of one voice to another. The philosopher, therefore, should not dictate the rules of acceptable discourse but set himself the more humble task of clarifying man's actual conversation in practical activity, in science and in art, in order to discern the place of each on “the map of human activity”, a formulation of the function of philosophy of which R. G. Collingwood would have approved.

Though the title refers only to poetry the book is a contribution to the philosophy of art, for the word ‘poetry’ refers to a way of thinking, a type of experience or a manner of being active which is common to all of the arts. It is a welcome contribution because our culture tends to stress the largely conventional idiom of practical life in which thinking is governed by pleasure and pain, and approval and disapproval, expressing itself in action and words used in a practical way, and the idiom of science, now vastly removed from the former, in which the world is presented under the aspect of quantity, independent of our desires, preferences and ambitions.

Professor Oakeshott identifies poetic imagining with contemplating and delighting. There is in this kind of experience no hypothesis to be examined, no distinction between fact and non-fact and consequently no concern with truth. ‘Poetic truth’ is not a useful expression though it at least indicates that works of art do not have the kind of truth or falsity that propositions have. Nor do desire and aversion, moral approval and disapproval enter into this experience. Therefore the criteria of successfully pursuing scientific activity or practical activity will not be applicable to poetic activity.

Having mentioned the task the author has set himself and his procedure in distinguishing the characteristics of poetry from those of the other forms of activity, it should be noted that in the main body of the book he enlarges on what he means by contemplating and delighting by criticizing and reinterpreting concepts prominent

in aesthetic theories such as 'beauty', 'expression', 'form' and 'content'. He does this on the basis of a theory of imagination too complex to summarize briefly here.

This book deserves to be widely read as it is remarkable both for the importance and scope of its subject matter — it is really a comment on civilization — and the clarity of its style.

ALBERT P. FELL

QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY

THE WAY THINGS ARE. By P. W. Bridgman. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. Toronto: S. J. Reginald Saunders & Co., Ltd. 1959. Pp. vii + 333. \$7.50.

Bridgman is a Nobel prize winner in physics who has been writing over a period of thirty years on science and the implications which its methods, as he understands them, have for science and society. This book is his latest work on this subject, and in it he continues to explain and apply his theories about "operational analysis". For Bridgman operational analysis is analysis in terms of activities, "doings and happenings", rather than in terms of objects or static abstractions. In this he insists on the importance of the individual and in order to emphasize this he writes his book in the first person singular. He notes that words must be written or spoken by someone and that even when he makes statements as impersonal as those of mathematics and logic it is he who makes them. He insists on this so much that he says that any impersonal constructions used in his book, which are often unavoidable because of the limitations of grammar, are to be read as meaning "This is what I would say and I believe it is also what you would say". He believes that modern science and philosophy have become "too much obsessed with the ideal of a coldly impersonal generality" and his book is meant to correct this by insisting that we can never get away from ourselves. He also believes that no metaphysical principles or absolutes should be adhered to and that Occam's razor should be applied as diligently as possible. He admits that he can give no logical justification for this,

but that it just appeals to him as good intellectual workmanship as well as leaving him with the maximum amount of flexibility in dealing with the future. Today's principles can very easily become tomorrow's chains.

The major part of this book is given over to a discussion of scientific method, logic and probability and the nature of the physical sciences. Many of the discussions concern technical points in these subjects. Bridgman is a clear writer and does not use mathematics in the book. Thus even a non-specialist can follow his argument with comparative ease. However it would take a specialist in science to pronounce on the soundness of many of Bridgman's views, some of which he himself admits are heretical. But they are the heresies of a first rate physicist reflecting upon his own procedures when making scientific enquiries. They make the reader re-examine many of his own pre-conceptions, and this is precisely what Bridgman wants.

The last third of this book is concerned with psychology and the social implications of Bridgman's operational analysis. In psychology he attempts to justify the use of introspectional words against the behaviourists who deny their legitimacy. Bridgman uses these words in a restricted sense that depends upon the person who is using them. He insists that even the most intransigent behaviourist has to recognize that a person who has a toothache is the only person who can verify this fact. Once this is admitted it must also be allowed that there are operations which can only be performed by the person who alone has access to certain events. There is therefore a class of operations which only I can perform. All introspectional words therefore are relational for Bridgman since their meanings depend solely on the individual using them. In spite of his defence of introspection, however, he has no use for such words as "the self", "the will", "the mind" or "the soul" which he thinks arise out of bad introspectional observation. Bridgman cannot be said to be very adequate in his treatment of the psychological concepts with which he deals.

The same complaint can be made against his treatment of society. For Bridgman society is the sum of its individuals and he

holds that if a complete description of the behaviour of all the individuals in it could be given then a complete description of the nature of society would also be given. It is true that new qualities emerge in a group but this is only the result of new relations between individuals. There is no abstract entity "society" or "state" over and above these individuals. This is the result of his view of the primacy of the individual and he holds that all values are coextensive with "what I feel 'good' or with what I want or like". There are no absolute standards in morals any more than in physics. "Duty" and "ought" are only private words and "ought" is only a feeling which each individual has. No person can tell another what his duty is. In setting up a value system you should only be concerned with the consequences of acting in accord with those values and also should keep in mind that any value system urged on others must be one which you would be willing to accept yourself. This view is similar to that which others have held, especially in the last thirty years, and it has been subject to considerable comment and criticism. It may be the correct view. However if it is to be held it must be defended in detail and this Bridgman does not do. It also becomes quite apparent that despite his rejection of absolute values, Bridgman has a set of his own by means of which he judges the actions and values of others. Some might agree with these but it would have been better if Bridgman had adhered more closely to his own philosophy and defended them by showing their consequences in more detail. If he had done this he might have wished to have changed them.

WALTER B. CARTER

QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY

British Literature

ON THE LITERARY GENETICS OF SHAKSPEARE'S PLAYS, 1592-1594. By T. W. Baldwin. Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1959. Pp. 562 \$8.50.

Professor T. W. Baldwin of the University of Illinois is a scholar of enormous

erudition who periodically publishes enormous books. In the past he has come forth with gigantic accumulations of just about all the information relating in even the slightest degree to the education of Shakespeare, to his use of the five-act structure in his plays, and to the organization and personnel of the acting company to which he belonged. The present book endeavours to illuminate Shakespeare's earliest plays by a consideration of their literary and stage backgrounds.

The first few hundred pages of this book deal, in excruciating detail, with the literary coteries of the period around 1590, and review the chronologies of the chief dramatists active when Shakespeare was beginning his career. The curious thing is that all this lengthy research turns out to have little real application to the Shakespeare plays subsequently discussed.

In Chapter VII Professor Baldwin turns to a thesis central to his book — that the "casting patterns" of the various acting companies active around 1590 can be determined from the surviving plays that they are known to have put on: that in a certain year, for example, the Queen's Men demanded plays calling for only five men, whereas Strange's Men were putting on plays with parts for six. In chapter after chapter, sometimes on the thinnest and most insubstantial of evidence, Baldwin tries to establish these shifting patterns from year to year.

Finally in mid-volume Baldwin turns to Shakespeare. Dogmatic utterances come thick and fast. Thus, without the slightest factual evidence, we are assured that Shakespeare was in London *continuously* from the autumn of 1587. Inference is based on inference in an attempt to make an early play out of *The Merry Wives of Windsor* on the basis of the "casting pattern" once Falstaff is banished from its scenes. Sometimes, as in his discussion of *Richard III*, we find our author has nothing to offer more than synopsis.

At the end of it all, one looks back over a mass of irrelevancies, dubious theorizings, and verbiages, which effectively conceal what is new or valuable in the book. One recalls a note at the front of the volume, "A grant from the Ford Foundation has helped to defray the cost of publishing this

work." If the Ford Foundation by withholding its bounty had forced the author to boil down his opus to one-quarter its present length, it would have rendered a service to scholarship.

G. P. V. AKRIGG

UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

ENGLISH LITERATURE IN THE EARLY EIGHTEENTH CENTURY, 1700-1740. By Bonamy Dobrée. Oxford: Clarendon Press. Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1959. Pp. xii + 701. \$8.50.

Professor Dobrée's volume on the Early Eighteenth Century, which is the latest addition to the Oxford History of English Literature, is aimed at the "inquiring student" and the "interested general reader", rather than at the professional scholar, even though, as the dust-jacket says, "the results of the latest research" may have all been incorporated. In this country, it will be a god-send for inquiring students, and, if anything can create a class of general readers not intimidated by 701 soberly printed pages of literary history, this book is the one to do it. For it is civilized in tone, conversational, witty, and full of the sense of discovery. Professor Dobrée has read all the literature of his period with an open mind, looking not so much for influences, tendencies, sources, or movements, as for rewarding experiences. Of these he has found many, in the works of both the great and the less. His heroes are Defoe, Pope, and Swift, but he is not afraid to be enthusiastic also about Matthew Green and other small fry, about whom his predecessors have usually been content to be either amusing or pedantic. In fact, Professor Dobrée enjoys eighteenth-century literature, and he enjoys it on its own terms rather than for intimations of romantic glories to be, and he knows how to convey his sense of enjoyment to his readers. He makes one long for time to do one's basic eighteenth-century reading all over again.

The book contains an interesting innovation. Instead of considering all the works of each author together in one chapter, or series of chapters, as has been the custom,

Professor Dobrée has cunningly divided his material so as to preserve both the sense of the passage of time and the distinction of kinds. Accordingly, part one is devoted to the early works of Defoe, Swift, and Pope, and the principal works of Addison, Steele, and the minor poets of the first two decades. Part two deals with the drama, philosophy, letter-writing, criticism, biography, and history of the whole stretch of four decades. Then, finally, in part three, we are brought back to complete our study of Defoe, Swift, and Pope. This plan is complex and hence risky, but it has been put into effect with extraordinary success. Obviously, one has to look in some cases into three or four different chapters in order to get the full account of the work of one writer. On the other hand, from a book planned in this way one gets a better sense of the procession of the decades and of successive changes in taste and interest than from one written on conventional lines, in which the time sequence has constantly to be doubled back on itself. And one also sees the writers of the period less as isolated individuals than in their relations to each other and to the age as a whole in which they lived. So the book is a history, not a glorified biographical dictionary of writers.

It is not a history, however, in the more formidable, analytical sense of the word, being rather a description of the literature of the period and a mosaic of personal judgements. Naturally some readers will disagree with some of these judgements—as on Addison, or Thomson, or Young (one of the few minor writers who really wore down Professor Dobrée's patience), or again on the later satires of Pope—but being a gentleman of wide reading and catholic tastes, he never expresses merely eccentric opinions or conceals a bias. Moreover, he appears to be wisely sceptical of the value of studying literary movements in the eighteenth century, and makes little use of the terms "neo-classical" and "pre-romantic" and most of the rest of the trite jargon of former literary historians. The more specialized student's wants, however, have been cared for at the back in an excellent set of chronological tables and in bibliographical articles arranged in alphabetical order. Unfortunately the latter are not as reliable as

they ought to be, some major books and articles having escaped the notice of the author. Even in the text itself there is one bad and repeated blunder—over the date of publication of *Gulliver's Travels* (pp. 440 and 445), the correct date being given in the tables and the bibliography. Moreover the index is disappointing. The plan of the history demanded a fully analytical index, to help the reader reassemble the *dissecta membra* of the various authors discussed. But instead we have been given only a bald list of page numbers.

But these flaws are trivial in comparison with the excellences of the book. There are innumerable high spots, full of fresh observations and judgements. To me the best sections are two of those on Defoe, the ones on his prose style and on his technique as a novelist. And the study of Swift's development is admirable, as well as the briefer treatment of the prose works of George Berkeley. Most engaging of all the merits of the book is the easy colloquial style in which it is written. Let me conclude with two samples:

Swift could never become reconciled to human effluvia, to the notion that man is an organism that has to be voided. It is not merely that he uses this fact as an instrument for humbling man's pride; he takes rough pleasure in forcing his readers to accept it; he rubs their nose in the filth as one may do with a puppy when training it.

Or this one:

But Thomson and his generation would simply not have understood this attitude; they might, alas! have regarded it as immature, and have said with Coleridge: 'In wonder all philosophy began; in wonder it ends; but the first wonder is the offspring of ignorance, the last is the parent of adoration.' For what was happening in the poetry of the twenties was a renaissance of the second kind of wonder, that of most of the Romantics would have seemed to the earlier poets like the gaping of country bumpkins.

CLARENCE TRACY

UNIVERSITY OF SASKATCHEWAN

TRISTAN AND ISEULT, AN EPIC POEM IN TWELVE BOOKS. By Florence M. Pomeroy. London: The Bodley Head. 1958. Pp. 271. 21s.

"I revive the legend," the poet explains in her preface, "but not as a verse raconteur slavishly restricted to the cited sources and bound to expression in imitative mediaeval idiom." The poem is not intended to be a paraphrase in modern verse of the hypothetical original of the Tristan story: it is not Joseph Bédier's *Romance of Tristan and Iseult* versified. "I retell in my own terms and in my own manner."

This manner may be sampled in such lines as the following:

Oh, ye ingratull! Had my stranger
sword
Slept in its sheath, like your unquickened
blades,
E'en now your sons would serve in alien
halls,
E'en now your maids would sate an Irish
lust!

Poetic diction, poetic syntax, poetic rhetoric: poetry made, line after scanning line, out of other poetry. The poem reads (and it is readable) like a translation of a better poem.

The poet's "own terms" are those of epic. Out of a formless narrative she has shaped an action in the traditional twelve books, with many of the outward marks of epic. Specifically, the poem "cites legend learning of the classic past," being studded with reference to mythology and the legends of Troy and of the Argonauts. In spite of this, I judge it to be not inwardly epic because the information it contains does not mould the mind and character of the modern readers for whom it is written. The lore is quaint, bookish, decorative.

WILLIAM BLISSETT

HURON COLLEGE,
UNIVERSITY OF WESTERN ONTARIO

BURNS. A Study of the Poems and Songs. By Thomas Crawford. Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd. Toronto: Clarke, Irwin & Co. Ltd. 1960. Pp. xv + 400. \$6.75.

There is already in existence a vast library of books about Burns. Possibly more

nonsense has been spoken about him than about any other poet, ancient or modern; possibly too, more sense has been written about him than about any major figure in the second rank of poets. Occasionally a book of high critical merit appears—a laboriously compiled and comprehensive edition of the poet's *Letters*—De Lancey Ferguson's *Letters of Robert Burns*, for instance—or a searching study of the *Man* as revealed in his published poetry, like Angellier's *Robert Burns: la vie, les oeuvres*. Angellier's monumental work appeared in 1893, Ferguson's in 1931. These publications were regarded as "definitive". But only last year another volume appeared—*The Merry Muses of Caledonia: A Collection of Favourite Scots Songs Ancient and Modern; selected for the use of the Crochallan Fencibles*. The book I should imagine can only be obtained with the greatest difficulty as it deals entirely with the theme of *houghmagandie*; it is bawdiness *par excellence* and in no way enhances the poet's reputation either as a man or as a poet. I shall be greatly mistaken, however, if serious students of Burns do not immediately recognise Mr. Crawford's study as one of high critical merit and as an indispensable adjunct for a fuller understanding of one of the most complex, attractive, and at the same time repelling, figures not only in Scottish but in world literature.

Mr. Crawford starts with the obvious advantage that he is a Scot. But unlike many Scots he has never been under the delusion that the mere fact of being born a Scot automatically makes him an authority on the National Bard. His work is the fruit of many years of devoted study and painstaking research. He has read everything—or almost everything—that has ever been written about Burns, but what is more to the point is that he has read *Burns*. The result of his reading is that he has come to the conclusion that most of the poetry in the vernacular is—to persons who are unfamiliar with the older language of Scotland—what William Cowper said it was—a light shut up in a dark lantern. Hence the exceedingly useful—in fact the indispensable—glossary and the elaborate appendix on the phonetics of Burns's Scots and Scots-English. Furthermore, Mr. Crawford has provided a fully documented text,

notes which slip into the reader's ken without interrupting his train of thought or interrupting the sequence and flow of the narrative. A rare achievement.

There is however, one point on which one might take issue with Mr. Crawford. He refuses to accept Angellier's thesis that Burns was essentially "the culminating point of a native literature which now seems at an end". Mr. Crawford seems to find support in the argument of an able contemporary writer, W. M. Ballantine, who gives it as his opinion in his recently published *Scotland Now* (1960), that "Hugh MacDiarmid's" *A Drunk Man Looks at the Thistle* is not only "the greatest Scots poem in two hundred years" but that the poet by "breaking with the bonds of metre which Burns had fashioned" has shown that the language can carry new meanings. While willing to concede the latter part of Mr. Ballantine's statement, the present reviewer has still to be convinced that there has been any revival of poetry in Scotland or that there is still a future for an independent native literature in Scotland. In the absence of proof therefore Angellier's conclusion still holds.

JAMES A. ROY

EDINBURGH

Canadian Literature

FUSELI POEMS. By Eli Mandel. Toronto: Contact Press. 1960. Pp. 66. \$2.00.

The reader toys with the title of this collection trying to think of the various ways all the poems are Fuseli poems, not just the ones obviously based on Fuseli paintings such as "Girl Combing Her Hair, Watched by a Young Man". What I chiefly get out of the Fuseli paintings I have seen is a sense of extreme domestic distortion: Regency ladies sitting by fireplaces who look as if they were Mt. Rushmore Memorial people calmly looking at Hell. Most of Mr. Mandel's poems are more out of doors than this but they also show a remarkable distortion of the universe that is akin to Fuseli's technique. In "Ducks in a Pond" the sun contains the pond and the earth in

his armpits — "under the arm of the sweating sun". The effect here is of being at once inside and outside a huge creature who turns fire to water and water to fire, light to dark and dark to light. This is the sort of magic one gets in a Bergman film (Ingmar not Ingrid) or a Van Gogh painting and it's what you read Mr. Mandel's poems for. This is his touch, his peculiar taste and to see what he does with it in the volumes to come is obviously going to be exciting. In "Landscape" we have the same Fuseli quality again: "The tree shaped like a lock against the sky / And the river like a door and like a key."

The *dramatis personae* alone of this volume, without the style and vision encasing them, present a powerful enough nightmare. We have mayors who are "put out to eat grass", bees smoked out by what appears to be the Burning Bush of Moses, a poet whose spine is a syntax, grease-pits that are Jocasta's womb, a Humanities Association conference that might have been painted by Hieronymus Bosch, Ursa Major feeding on the honey of our poetry ("his paw inside the blighted log of Time") and the people of Calgary, Edmonton and Saskatoon.

Well, with such a granary of disturbing and powerful images the problem is how to plant them. "A Castle and Two Inhabitants" gives a hint that one day Mr. Mandel may look past Fuseli's particular way of organizing a visionary world which is after all only one way.

JAMES REANEY

UNIVERSITY OF WESTERN ONTARIO

WINTER SUN. By Margaret Avison. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1960. Pp. 89. \$2.50.

No doubt Miss Avison is not the poet for lazy or simple-minded readers, but despite the intricacies of her "Rouault hoops" and "collages", the least sensible charge that can be brought against her is willful obscurity. As a matter of fact, she provides a remarkably luminous set of clues to her meaning. Even a glance at these should convince the reader that no one could have tracked the poetic terrain of *Winter Sun* without owning and knowing

how to use a complex set of precision instruments.

If the reader starts with her poems about sight, imagination, and art (say the three sonnets entitled "Snow", "Unbroken Lineage", and "Butterfly Bones") he soon will understand the rationale of Miss Avison's shifting masks and complex perspectives. Moving from "the optic heart" to the "pinnacle piercing all disguise" to "Adam's lexicon locked in the mind", the sonnets define Miss Avison's main poetic concerns: the puzzling transformations effected by metaphor, perspective or dramatic point of view, and the life-in-death paradoxes of art. It does not take much of a leap to see how these modulate into her master theme: "the peculiar shelf of being". And this last phrase aptly suggests how precariously, like some Canadian Pincher Martin, her poetry hangs on the cliffs and crags of existence, testing its handholds. It suggests too the interplay of abstract and concrete, minuteness and vastness, experience and vision, which is the dialectic of her poems. Diction, imagery, and form, nervous with the energy of paradox, seek to express the contradictions of unity in multiplicity, permanence in change, essence in existence. Hence the language of maps, diagrams, forces played off against shrubbery, rubbish, stone, or myth in poems like "Prelude", "Not the Sweet Cicely of Gerardes Herball", "The Artist", and "Apocalypics"; and the conceited imagery of sacramental supermarkets in "Intra-Political", the newspaper-house of time and memory in "Chronic", and the toast and ashes evening of "All Fools' Eve"; hence too the abrupt dramatic stances of the poems: poet as grammarian hooked by a floundering fish, as gnomic orator, as hesitant rebel, as bounding tennis player; or, more strikingly, as multiple personality amid fragments of plot and alterations of voice from narration to description to dialogue.

What does all this add up to? Undoubtedly some readers, coming upon the "unmoved mover" of "Hiatus" or the changeless "turning-point of morning" in "Preludes" or the tricks played with time and space throughout all the poems, will complain about mere cleverness or the tired cracking of philosophical chestnuts. But this sort of complaint surely misses the passion and insight, the irony and tenderness with which

Miss Avison renders the shabby texture of contemporary life and the superb poetic dexterity with which she balances the contradictions of experience. She offers to everyone caught between brute fact and mere desire the highest kind of human justice, her comprehension and compassion. I suppose one could ask for something more of a book of poetry, but I am hard put to think of what.

E. W. MANDEL

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

THE OXFORD BOOK OF CANADIAN VERSE. Edited by A. J. M. Smith. Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1960. Pp. 445. \$6.00.

My first reaction on seeing this book was to regret that A. J. M. Smith had been chosen to edit it: not, I must hasten to say, because I doubt Smith's ability, but because he has already given us his *Book of Canadian Poetry* and it would have been interesting to see what another editor could do. Even after reading the book, and acknowledging that Smith has avoided a mere duplication of his former excellent anthology, I still am curious to know what Roy Daniells or Malcolm Ross or Irving Layton would have made of the assignment. For all anthologies are really the deposits of their editors' prejudices, and in this matter two wrongs do sometimes make a right.

We all know by this time what Smith's prejudices are: the poetry he likes best is cosmopolitan, metaphysical, and cerebral. These prejudices lead to some rather curious inclusions and proportions. Isabella Valancy Crawford, because of her symbolic and mythical proclivities, is granted ten full pages of text, while Charles G. D. Roberts gets only seven, and Bliss Carman only six. In the more recent period, Margaret Avison is allowed seven pages, but Louis Dudek and Raymond Souster are allowed only four each. Irving Layton is represented only by his more mythical and difficult pieces: his satires and explosions of sensuality are ignored. Very young difficult poets like Daryl Hine and Heather Spears are given space, but more straightforward and emo-

tional writers such as Alden Nowlan and Henry Moscovitch are left out. However, this kind of cavilling can soon degenerate into gamesmanship, so I leave the matter with the comment that I should like to see a good Canadian anthology edited from a different point of view.

The most startling innovation in this anthology is the inclusion of French-Canadian poetry. In the introduction Smith has skilfully woven the two traditions together, and has made a good case for their parallel development. I am not qualified to say how representative his selection of French-Canadian verse is, but I do think it is time we made such tangible acknowledgment of our bilingual culture, and I admire Smith's courage in undertaking the task.

The introduction is a fine piece of exposition, marred only by one bad sentence at the foot of p. xxxi. It is a pity that Smith does not have more concrete things to say about the poetry since World War II, but the things he says about the earlier periods are well said and obviously deeply considered. All in all, this is a far more worthy representation of Canadian poetry than its predecessor in this distinguished series.

DESMOND PACEY

UNIVERSITY OF NEW BRUNSWICK

STEPHEN LEACOCK: Humorist and Humanist. By Ralph L. Curry. New York: Doubleday and Company Inc. Toronto: Doubleday Canada, Ltd. 1959. Pp. 383. \$4.95.

It is most unfortunate that the task of fully chronicling the life of Stephen Leacock has been left to an American. If the result is unsatisfactory, it is probably our own fault. It is now sixteen years since Leacock died, and as yet no Canadian literary historian has come forward to face the task of appraising the life and work of a man who is perhaps Canada's most significant and impressive literary figure. Of course, we recognized the man's greatness, but we did little about it. While the Leacock Memorial Medal was being awarded annually, the library to which Leacock had

willed his manuscripts did not even bother to obtain them from his summer home in Orillia. There, along with his library, letters, and other literary remains, they stayed for many years in the deserted cottage. When finally the Leacock Home was opened as a national literary shrine in 1958, not one literary historian or representative of a Canadian university was included among the official guests. Professor Curry, who came to Orillia from Kentucky to look into Leacock's background for his doctoral dissertation, stayed to catalogue the papers, to help establish the Leacock Memorial Home, and finally to write the Canadian humorist's first biography.

The result is disappointing in many ways, and for many reasons, not the least of which is Professor Curry's lack of understanding of the Canadian scene. When this is combined with inaccurate scholarship, the effect is most disturbing. For example, the story of the early years of Leacock's life is largely based on Leacock's own reminiscences in *The Boy I Left Behind Me*; but in paraphrasing the original, the biographer misreads it, and by so doing somehow identifies the Leacock farm at Sutton as the site of the Iroquois massacre at Midland, some sixty miles away. Another misreading changes the original reference to making rafts and sailing a flat-bottomed boat into "He and his brothers built flat-bottomed boats;" thus the biographer misleadingly turns the boys, all under the age of eleven, into master carpenters. Each of these errors is, perhaps, insignificant; but the book is so filled with such inaccuracies and distortions that one begins to wonder. And when university presidents' names are incorrectly recorded, and poor Bliss Carman is again orthographically mistreated, one almost shudders.

Fortunately, Professor Curry has a fairly vivid and readable style, and many of the more fascinating aspects of Leacock's personality and life are fully realized. This is particularly true when Leacock the wit is allowed to speak for himself; I suppose it would be impossible to write a completely dull biography of a man as quotable as Leacock. However, every effort seems to have been made to obscure the inherent interest by periodically presenting it in pedestrian pedantic prose adorned by end-

less and often meaningless footnotes. That the subject is able to survive at all is quite a tribute to Stephen Leacock.

But the most serious shortcoming of the book is its hasty judgements. Leacock is presented entirely from the American point of view. His devotion to Canada is never comprehended: "Born in England, he moved to Canada, and wrote American humor." From such a starting point, we can hardly expect much in the way of critical judgement. A great deal of attention is given to Leacock's own largely platitudinous writings on humor, and many dubious conclusions are drawn from them. A good deal of analysis is given (perhaps deservedly so) to Leacock's extensive writings on economics and political science; but this is undoubtedly over-emphasized when we are told that Leacock's reputation as a mediocre economist was due to the jealousy of his colleagues who resented his literary income. And this line of thinking leads finally to the untenable conclusion that it became increasingly plain, in the 'thirties, "that Leacock was never a very good fiction writer and that his greatest mastery of letters lay in his ability to explain in interesting, lucid language an intricate, political, economic or social problem." Professor Curry is better when it comes to analysing the humorous works, and many of Leacock's minor humorous pieces are adequately considered for the first time. But even here, the author is guided by his prejudices, so *Sunshine Sketches* is presented as "gentle fun", and its bitter undertones, such as the insurance arson and the election fraud, are ignored. This is part of the writer's effort to make Leacock into a kind of saintly humanist. The famous Leacock temper is more or less admitted; we are told that he swore occasionally, and even took a drink now and then. But he is presented largely as a sober, temperate man who never imposed his outbursts of temper "on those outside his home". This is hardly the picture one gets from those who knew Stephen Leacock well.

Stephen Leacock does not fully meet any of the requirements of a critical biography; it neither records the man's life accurately, appraises his writings judiciously, nor dramatically and appreciatively re-creates his personality. But it does present for the

first time the story of one of Canada's few great writers. The student and the scholar will find it inaccurate and misleading; but every reader will find Leacock and Leacock's life fascinating. And we must temper our criticism of this American interpretation of Leacock, remembering that it makes an honest effort to indicate Leacock's importance in the international world of letters. And we should, at the same time, commend Professor Curry on the fine job he has done in resurrecting Leacock from the limbo in which Canada seemed quite content to leave him.

S. R. BEHARRIELL

ROYAL MILITARY COLLEGE OF CANADA

SONS OF THE SOIL. By Illia Kiriak. Toronto: The Ryerson Press. 1959. Pp. 303. \$4.50.

The homesteader on the Great Plains has come in for a considerable amount of attention from the novelist and short story writer and the question may arise whether anything substantially new can now be written about prairie settlement. *Sons of the Soil*, however, is in a special category. Here is the story of the Ukrainian settler in the park belt of central Alberta, who arrives to face all the usual obstacles and handicaps, and, in addition, has to break through the language barrier. This novel has its limitations as literary art, but is an outstanding contribution to the sociology of western settlement. This might have been cast as a series of pioneer chronicles and sketches with little loss. It is artless, honest, simple and innocent. It is a kind of literary parallel to the "Grandma Moses" genre in painting. It is a "primitive" in the most laudable sense. The migration of Ukrainians to Alberta and their struggles with pioneer conditions is pictured in intimate loving detail. The thoughts of the migrants, the stubborn preservation of the Old Country customs, the persistence of ritual, are all well developed. The author displays a keen insight into human idiosyncrasies and the many characters are well differentiated. There is very little in the way of plot, and not much attempt is made to probe the

uglier more passionate or more evil aspects of man. I read this book with continuous quiet pleasure, grateful for the additions to my knowledge of pioneering in Alberta. Michael Luchkovich has made a smooth idiomatic translation which never obtrudes, and deserves warm thanks for making this work generally available.

WILFRID EGGLESTON

CARLETON UNIVERSITY

American Literature

FREE AND LONESOME HEART: THE SECRET OF WALT WHITMAN. By Emory Holloway. New York: Vantage Press. 1960. Pp. 232. \$4.50.

THE LONG ENCOUNTER: SELF AND EXPERIENCE IN THE WRITINGS OF HERMAN MELVILLE. By Merlin Bowen. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1960. 282. \$5.00.

Both these books seek to throw new light on the life-views of their distinguished subjects. Emory Holloway, who laid the foundation of all modern Whitman scholarship with his *Whitman: An Interpretation in Narrative* (1926), in his latest book studies the poet's psychological make-up and his poetic treatment of sex and friendship. He examines Whitman's slow awakening to the life of passion, his adolescent attachment to Emily Houston, his experience of the warm life of New Orleans, and the maternal devotion which he brought to the nursing of soldiers in the Civil War. He shows how these are reflected in Whitman's verse and concludes that Whitman oscillated between two types of affection, heterosexual love and the manly love of comrades, and "was really happy only when he could rise above them both".

The meat of Professor Holloway's book, however, and the reason for his book, comes in Part Six where he marshalls the evidence, which has newly come into his hands, that Whitman was the father of a son born in 1868. This boy, who carried throughout life the name of John Whitman

Wilder, was brought up by a spinster, Mary Alice Wilder, whom he was taught to call mother. After a rather harum-scarum youth he served faithfully in the United States Army, he sent a wreath of flowers to Walt's funeral, he died in 1911 and was buried in Warwick, New York. Those critics who have maintained that Whitman was only boasting when he said that he had fathered six children will have to revise their estimates of the poet's sexual prowess.

Merlin Bowen in *The Long Encounter* begins from the point of view that Melville's books are not mainly stories or novels, in the accustomed meaning of the words, but are fundamentally explorations of the problems of self-discovery and self-realization. This persistent concern helped to determine his subject matter, imagery, view of character, and shape of narrative. His major works constantly show the single individual pitting himself against the universe, which is usually hostile; his books contain "so many dramatic representations of the self and the not-self, of the single human person and all that is set over against him — the total reality of nature, mankind, and God."

Part I of the book shows "The Antagonists" in Melville's work: the Unknown Self, plagued not only by opposition within of body and soul but by constant warfare between the reason and the affections, and the Opposing Other in nature, in the malice of men, and in the contradictions of the Divine Nature. Part II, "The Meeting", studies Melville's representation of the three main ways in which man may face a world obviously not made for him. There is defiance, the way of tragic heroism, as in Ahab, Bartleby the scrivener, and Pierre; there is submission, the way of weakness and compromise, which the author finds notably in Captain Vere; and there is the way of armed neutrality as in Ishmael and especially in Clarel. Professor Bowen's analysis of *Pierre* is convincingly lucid; he offers a fresh and sound interpretation of *Billy Budd*; and he brings *Clarel* sharply into focus as Melville's last and most profound word on the conflict of self and experience.

CARLYLE KING

UNIVERSITY OF SASKATCHEWAN

THE WORLD OF WILLIAM FAULKNER. By Ward L. Miner. New York: Grove Press. 1959. Pp. 170. \$1.45.

FAULKNER IN THE UNIVERSITY. Edited by Frederick L. Gwynn and Joseph L. Blotner. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press. 1959. Pp. xii + 294. \$6.00.

WILLIAM DEAN HOWELLS: THE DEVELOPMENT OF A NOVELIST. By George N. Bennett. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. Toronto: Burns & MacEachern. 1959. Pp. xviii + 222. \$5.00.

A simple list of major American writers (perhaps twenty names in all) suggests that the nation's imaginative achievement is already distinguished. When we reflect, however, that approximately eight thousand professors (and an uncounted horde of doctoral candidates) now teach and study this literature, we may wonder whether the professors do not overshadow the subject they profess. To its credit, this saturation programme in the study of American literature has produced a substantial number of first rate biographical, historical and critical studies, but by the same token it deluges us more and more with inconsequential books about big figures, and big books about inconsequential figures.

Mr. Ward Miner's study, *The World of William Faulkner* — a paperback reissue of a work published in 1952 — belongs with the inconsequential studies of major writers. In its new format it has the refurbished air of a second mortgage just renewed, and about the same value. With naïve sincerity it sets out to explore "the relation between the fictional county" of Yoknapatawpha, "and actuality" — the factual history of Lafayette County, Mississippi. The result is a sanguine comparison of Faulknerian persons, places and incidents with historical parallels that unfailingly strike us as less colourful, less coherent and less significant than the creations of Faulkner's art. In brief, Mr. Miner's failure to see that Yoknapatawpha's history is an autonomous artistic structure — a parable rather than a disguised case history — is fatal. Readers who regard literature as jazzed-up fact will agree that his gossipy, earthbound approach is the best way "to get at the meaningful core" of Faulkner's fiction. Those who dis-

tinguish between art and life will glean, at best, a few useful background facts.

Of even less consequence is *Faulkner in the University*, a well-meaning but stumbling transcript of tape recordings made at Faulkner's "class conferences at the University of Virginia, 1957-1958". The editors state that they have eliminated repetitive passages from the 40,000 foot tape, but the record of stilted or ingenuous questions and gentlemanly answers is still too long. A few of Faulkner's remarks add something to our knowledge of his mind and art, but on the whole the discussions are closer to a human-interest "think piece" from the reject file of *Look* magazine than to an intelligent seminar discussion. That Faulkner should speak informally to massed undergraduates is laudable; that professors should commit the proceedings to the cold clarity of print does little for Faulkner and nothing at all for the academy.

By contrast with these slender pieces on Faulkner, Mr. George N. Bennett brings genuine talent and knowledge to his discussion of a much less commanding figure, William Dean Howells. As the young Henry James recognized, Howells lacked "a really grasping imagination". He is nevertheless a central figure in the development of late nineteenth century American fiction, and his era is the least-understood period of the American career. There is, therefore, a genuine need of such works as Mr. Bennett's well written, well documented analysis of Howells' artistic development. Rejecting the fashionable picture of Howells as a polite, Bostonized apostle of "the more smiling aspects" of American life, Mr. Bennett traces the progress of his fiction from an indulgent observation of manners to deep social and moral questioning. He hesitates, however, to admit that Howells is less important as a novelist than as an editor and literary mentor: that his "high purpose" in fiction was seldom matched by genuinely high achievement. Thus, though he boldly quotes the most damaging attacks made on Howells, he too often withholds his own opinion. At one point, for example, Howells says that a writer "Until he is well on towards forty, . . . will hardly have assimilated the materials of a great novel, although he may have amassed them"; and Mr. Bennett adds: "Whether or not Howells'

theory is a valid generalization, it is certainly an accurate statement of his own situation." This refusal to comment on the validity of Howells' generalizations is a disturbing evasion, for Howells was prone to generalize; his generalizations, moreover, were often vast, inadequately supported, and seldom uttered with a passion that would prompt us to excuse them. Mr. Bennett, in short, treats his subject tenderly. But if the Howells he presents is somewhat larger than life, the image has a new clarity. Other scholars, tempted to blow up far less substantial figures in Cinemascope, might well ponder Mr. Bennett's problem, and his restraint in solving it.

HUGO MCPHERSON

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A CRITICAL GUIDE TO LEAVES OF GRASS. By James E. Miller, Jr. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1957. Pp. xi + 268. \$6.00.

Professor Miller sets out to scotch the theory that Whitman was "the finest example of the romantic writer, composing 'automatically' with a wild and savage frenzy". That Whitman appears to be doing so is partly the result of his posing—a matter of public relations, as they say. However, there is a kind of posing that occurs inside poems, a kind of dramatic imposture to be found in all imaginative works; and of this craft or subtle art Whitman was a master, and usually cast himself in the title rôle.

The thesis is stated in the Introduction:

His poems are plays; he is the protagonist. These "plays," like those of the stage, have as their parts a number of "acts" created out of an unfolding action complete with beginning, middle, and end. The stages of this "action," rather than divisions of subject matter or variations on a theme, inform Whitman's poems structurally. . . . Whitman was not stating philosophical truths so much as he was dramatizing himself and his life of the imagination.

A search for philosophical progression and conclusion has blinded readers to the "basic dramatic nature" of the poems. That nature

grasped, the poems are not formless but sensitively ordered.

The argument divides itself into two parts. The first of these presents ten separate studies of individual poems: the "Song of Myself", "Children of Adam", "Lilacs", etc. In the second part, taking note of Whitman's perpetual revision and rearrangement of the entire canon, and his positing the "deathbed edition" as the one to be "received", Professor Miller argues for a basic three-part structure in *Leaves of Grass*, embodying an individual yet typical personality for the New World. Whitman first portrays "an expanding awareness of the self and its relation to all else"; he then "shows the impingement of a specific time and a particular place on self"; and at last "engages the self with the fundamental and all-encompassing 'law' of spirituality". Having got this slippery eel by the tail, one needs but to recognize two groups of introductory and farewell poems and you have a five-fold division embodying the main tripartite structure. There is still an overflow, mostly of short poems which Mr. Miller regards as "fillers only and not significant parts of the structure of *Leaves of Grass*", mere pimples presumably on the body organic.

With the general position of the book there can be little disagreement. No one would wish to argue seriously for Whitman's "formlessness" today. But there have been other arrangements of the poems, as Professor Miller acknowledges, and perhaps the last word has not yet been said upon this matter. Mr. Miller's scheme is presented cogently, out of a wide knowledge of Whitman's life and work. His remarks on individual poems are very often enlightening and always interesting. Furthermore, the book adheres to literary matters rather than biographical or, say, sociological ones. There is not evident too great a concern for "ideas" at the expense of poetry. In sum, the book provides a sensitive reading of the texts.

But it must also be recorded that, in connection with his structural analysis, the author pushes rather hard the notion of Whitman's mysticism, without however clearly defining that term. Unless a mystic may be described, which in many studies appears to be the case, as a man without

any apparent theory of knowledge, then the old word-mauler from Paumanok was too mystic; and the attempt to apply "the five phases of the mystical life" as charted by Miss Evelyn Underhill will strike some readers as a bit of agile jockeying. The intuitive process, as (one gathers from his poetry) Whitman conceived it, does not so readily support such a pseudo-scientific method. In his chapter on "Song of Myself as Inverted Mystical Experience", the five phases spill over into seven in an attempt to make the formula work.

Professor Miller's penchant for mysticism tends to blur his appreciation of Whitman's finest poem, "When Lilacs Last in the Door-yard Bloom'd", though his comments upon that poem are valuable and he comes close to recognizing that the symbolic attitude towards reality is not necessarily (or even predominantly) mystical. He recognizes the essentially cyclic action of the poem, but seems not to have noticed that the resolution is effected by a process of symbolic extrication. Indeed, the poem provides an ideal illustration of such a process.

One can agree wholeheartedly with the assertion that Whitman's art is neither "automatic" nor "formless", without resorting to the concept of "mysticism"—a term that has often been mischievous in modern criticism. The older view of Whitman's conscious artistry within a framework of symbolic action—however conscious Whitman may have been of it—still makes good sense. But even that cannot be applied to all of the poems, and cannot be applied at all to most of the earlier ones. Even the continuous revision does not alter the fact that Whitman's development was from a rhetorical to a poetic mode. This must be taken into account in any attempt to elicit structural principles from *Leaves of Grass* as a whole.

I. NEWELL

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Ancient Israel

A HISTORY OF ISRAEL. By John Bright. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press. Toronto: The Ryerson Press. 1959. Pp. 500. 16 pages of maps. \$7.50.

THE RELIGION OF ISRAEL — *From its Beginnings to the Babylonian Exile.* By Yehzekel Kaufmann. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. Toronto: The University of Toronto Press. 1960. Pp. 486. \$7.50.

The student of Israel's ancient history has received a surfeit of data in recent months which will take some time to assimilate. John Bright, Chancellor's Lecturer at Queen's Theological College in 1956, has provided us with a fine, readable *History of Israel*; and the first seven volumes of the eight published in modern Hebrew by Y. Kaufmann between 1937 and 1956, have just been translated into English in a much abridged form by Moshe Greenberg of the University of Pennsylvania. Kaufmann's volume undertakes to discuss the history of Israel's religion from the dawn of Israel's consciousness until 537 B.C. and the termination of Israel's period of Exile.

These two books are poles apart in their approach to the ancient history of Israel. Kaufmann pushes back the date of writing for the various parts of the Old Testament to a time almost contemporary with the events described. Likewise, he rejects any idea of the evolution of monotheism. "The Bible nowhere denies the existence of the gods; it ignores them . . . There is no evidence that the gods and their myths were ever a central issue in the religion of Yahweh . . . It is precisely this non-mythological aspect that makes it [Israel] unique in world history; this was the source of its universal appeal . . . The Bible's ignorance of the meaning of paganism is at once the basic problem and the most important clue to the understanding of biblical religion" (Kaufmann, p. 20). Yahweh did not evolve into a monotheistic God by the time Isaiah 40-55 was written in the 5th Century. Yahweh's kingship was from the very beginning in the Old Testament.

In contrast, Bright spends a long time discussing the Patriarchal narrative of Genesis (33 pages in comparison to Kauf-

mann's 17 pages). He seeks to show that the oral traditions behind the written documents have preserved sufficient historical data to enable us to reconstruct the general historical milieu in which the patriarchs lived. This was the Amoritic period, according to Bright, the first half of the second Millennium B.C.

The difference between these two writers is no mere academic one. The student of the Old Testament must weigh seriously their different methods. The Old Testament is no simple, straightforward history. It is *heilsgeschichte* — history written with the saving work of God in mind. We must try to find the flesh and the bones without destroying the Faith.

John Bright attempts to set Israel's history within the total context of the Old Testament world. He discusses briefly the ancient Near East of 2000 B.C. and within this milieu establishes the patriarchs. Throughout he works on three planes: (1) the world of the Old Testament as it is evidenced by extra-biblical data gained by many means including archaeology; (2) the Old Testament's own witness; (3) the theology of the Old Testament as it can be read in the light of (1) and (2). He never lets us forget that Israel lived in the ancient world and not in a vacuum. At the end of the book are a series of excellent maps drawn from the Westminster *Historical Atlas of the Bible*. The book will be useful both to the layman and to the serious student of the Old Testament.

Kaufmann's book, being an abridgement, gives us only the flavour of the original; albeit, a good taste. The English translation is very good. Kaufmann's approach is different and exceedingly stimulating. First, there is an admirable discussion of religion: pagan and Israelite. Secondly, he discusses the history of Israel's religion prior to classical prophecy. In this section we find the material on the patriarchs, the conquest and settlement, the monarchy and the decline. In the final section, Kaufmann has given us a stimulating and sometimes provocative discussion of the period of classical prophecy: Amos to Ezekiel.

This study by Kaufmann is "a fundamental critique of classical criticism" and as such is required reading for the Old

Testament scholar. It will not, however, be easy reading for the uninitiated layman.

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Nile Voyageurs

RECORDS OF THE NILE VOYAGEURS 1884-1885. THE CANADIAN VOYAGEUR CONTINGENT IN THE GORDON RELIEF EXPEDITION. Edited with an Introduction by C. P. Stacey. The Champlain Society, Toronto. 1959. Pp. xvi + 285. Edition limited to elected members of the Society and Subscribing Libraries.

In his 51-page Introduction, Colonel Stacey vividly describes the circumstances in which nearly 400 Canadian boatmen commanded by a Toronto alderman went to Egypt to take part in the expedition to relieve General Gordon. Then follows a selection of documents relating to the Canadian Voyageur Contingent which, Colonel Stacey points out, attempts to include the most important official and quasi-official papers. Of the private letters the great majority were written by the two Denisons, Frederick who commanded the Contingent, and Egerton his brother, who made his own way to Egypt and was there appointed to the Contingent as an extra officer on Lord Wolseley's authority. Next come Miscellaneous Documents relating to the Raising

of the Contingent, some 34 pages. They are followed by Frederick Denison's Diary of the Canadian Contingent, 52 pages, Miscellaneous Documents relating to the Operations of the Contingent, 72 pages mostly from Colonel Frederick Denison's pen, short extracts from the Journal of the River Column, a few Documents relating to Wheelmen, a Nominal Roll, and some Biographical Notes. Readers interested in the skill and techniques of the Voyageurs will find a fair number of references to them; but I would recommend concentrating on Colonel Stacey's excellent Introduction and skimming the rest. Colonel Denison is not a great diarist. His entries are full of trivialities (the day he heard of the fall of Khartoum he records "Did nothing all day . . . Turned in early, with my boots off on a/c of my ankle being swollen by a sprain"), and he shows little awareness of the great and tragic events which were the overwhelming background to the Voyageurs' operations. It is not all dull, of course, but I guess that many will read the Introduction and then place the volume in the handsome crimson and gold ranks of its predecessors not to disturb it again. There are nine illustrations and two maps which show too few of the places mentioned in the text. Proofreaders rather surprisingly have passed "Abou Simnel" and "Kornombo" for the famous "Abu Simbel" and "Komombo".

C. D. QUILLIAM

KINGSTON, ONTARIO

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*Letter to
Richard Norton
Prince of Wales's Fort
From the Governor
and Committee
London
May 1, 1740*

Hudson's Bay Company.

INCORPORATED 21ST MAY 1870.

